13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

blow at the time of, or immediately after, heavy rains when the ground is soft and consequently the roots of the trees have little grip in the muddy, yielding soil.

THE VILLAGE

Pangai village is a relatively self-contained economic unit. The villagers look upon their village as their chief source of satisfaction for both work and play. There is, of course, continual coming and going between Pangai and other nearby villages. On the half dozen times each year when the banana and tourist boat calls at Neiafu (population in 1931, 1610 people), many Pangai people, men mostly, congregate in Neiafu to see the sights and to gossip with relatives and friends from other villages. Each year a few youths from the village go off to school in Nukualofa, capital and chief port of the Kingdom on distant Tongatapu, 170 miles to the south. They travel by small motor vessel or more hazardous cutter. Sometimes they return to Pangai for the annual vacation. Often they stay with relatives in Tongatapu until their schooling is finished. Adults rarely make the journey to Tongatapu. For the most part they stay in the village, relieving monotony by occasional visits to Neiafu.

The map of Pangai village (Fig. 2) sketches the lay-out of house-lots which together take up an area of about 20 acres. There are four church buildings. One of these is of European, church-like form; another is a small simple four-square board structure; the remaining two are Tongan-style architecture. The school-house is a small frame building, bare inside and out. The children sit on the floor. The community bark-cloth-making house stands next to the school-house. It is a larger frame building that stands empty and unused most of the year. The two stores are again small frame buildings with large copra-drying platforms and small copra storehouses alongside.

The style of house common in the village is also indicated on Figure 2. Of the 50 dwelling houses, 36 or 72 per cent. are Tongan style, 14 or 28 per cent. are European frame houses with iron roofs. Most of the Tongan style houses are built according to old-time native practice with coconut-sheet wall-screens and coconut mat thatching. A

A. [See category 116, p. 9--Analyst]

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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no opportunity therefore, to obtain any close or intimate knowledge of any non-Tongan domestic economy, domestic morals, domestic manners, or domestic relations. What slight knowledge there may be on these topics among the village women is derived almost entirely from Convent schooling or gossip. From this viewpoint our own stay in the village might possibly have added something to the culture of the more observant or curious of the village women.

Economic Life

CONTROL OF LAND

All land in Tonga is ultimately owned and controlled by the Crown. Functionally it is divided into three groups: Government estates, the estates of nobles, and the Royal estates (including those of the Queen and Crown Prince). Of the thirty-nine estates into which Vava'u is divided, seventeen are Government, sixteen are noble, five are Royal and one is the estate of the Crown Prince. Again in theory, each adult Tongan male above the age of sixteen years is entitled to an allotment of 8½ acres of land from the Government estate for which he pays taxes at the rate of eight shillings per year. Land is not sold to anyone. Applications for the leasing of land are made to the Minister of Lands. Land from the Royal estate or from that of a noble may be acquired by lease and may be inherited in either the male or female line provided the rent of eight shillings per year continues to be paid.

Pangaimotu (the island of Pangai) is Royal estate. Within the limits of Pangai village, the residential sections are nearly all controlled by named households. The bush lands on the islands are divided into sections called *api uta*, more briefly *api* (see Fig. 1), which range in size from eight or nine to sixteen or twenty acres. Each of these bush *api* is leased for the usual rental of eight shillings. As long as the rental is paid, the lessee has full control of his *api* and full right to produce what he pleases thereon. Should the rent, however, be in arrears for three years in succession, the land may be allotted to another individual.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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868 dyes will not be acquired until the time of marriage. Mat-
[461] plaiting is a somewhat tedious job, according to the testimony of village women. Many girls and young women only take on the responsibility of making household mats when there are no other older women in the group to do the job. Post-adolescent boys and girls generally learn to make sennit. Finer skills, such as net-making, may be learned at any age depending upon necessity or interest.

In almost all cases the young person learns economic skills from members of his household, from close relatives, or friends. Special skills may be picked up as opportunity offers from anyone available. Thus, of the four expert
868 net-makers in Pangai, one man learned from a friend whom
286 he visited in another village, a second man learned from a
463 chance visitor from another village whom he met at a Pangai *kava*-circle, and two further women learned subsequently from this latter Pangai man. In both cases the women seem to have acquired the skill because male relatives showed interest in net-fishing and desired nets for themselves.

871 The necessities of formal education in the three " R's "
872 which affect all Tongan children up to the age of fourteen years do not seem to interfere greatly with the native processes of economic education. There is a one-room schoolhouse in Pangai with practically none of that equipment that would be considered essential in even the poorest European school. The present schoolteacher is a native of the neighbouring village of Utungake who comes to Pangai each day for the school-session. School hours are short, vacations are long. The school-work (teaching is in the vernacular) is certainly not arduous or exacting, judged in terms of demanded efficiency and prescribed standards. There are plenty of opportunities for school-children to help and work with their parents and thus to acquire the minimum techniques of earning a living from the Tongan soil. At no time did any parents complain of an interference by school-demands with today's normal functioning of Tongan culture in relation to the progressive socialization of the Pangai child.

A few of the youth who graduate from the village-school
871 may continue their education at a government or mission
873 college in Tongatapu. These would be the youth whose
[464] parents might foresee certain advantages to be inherent

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
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in a small income obtained from school-teaching or functioning as a minor civil-servant after college graduation. Here again however, college life does not represent any particular break with typical Tongan activities. College youth are expected to spend part of each day working on the college plantation raising their own food-staples. During out-of-college hours they are generally associated with the households of friends or relatives in Tongatapu. Their vacations are either spent with their own households in Pangai or else working at Tongan things in Tongatapu.

In sum, Tongan schooling may not be particularly efficient; but at least the directors of Tongan education have not made the educational process an effective instrument for separating the Tongan child from the satisfactions of his own culture and equally, from the satisfactions of European culture. Education in Pangai has been allowed to gear itself into the present-day patterns of village-culture with results that are adequate in almost every respect.

The establishment of schools with the structure of a formal educational system has been one of the most effective forces in changing the culture of the villagers from primitive to folk-culture. Nevertheless it is easy to overassess the role that literacy plays in village-life. The large majority of the villagers are able to write the Tongan language. Most of them can read Tongan. To what use however, are these abilities put? As far as one can judge there is very little use made of writing except in the very occasional signing of one's name to some legal or government document. The writing of letters is infrequent. The attitude of the villager here is that everything can wait until personal contact is established, either by personal visiting or by the use of a visiting intermediary. Similarly, the use of reading-skills is very limited. Its principal use for most is that of reading such familiar material as Bible-lessons or church hymns. Children in school naturally use simple reading-texts with secular topics. With school-days far behind, however, the Bible becomes all-important and here one's ability to read is sometimes almost entirely limited to its use in reviving memory of key-words in sacred texts that are otherwise well-remembered but temporarily forgotten. Some households also possess the single-paged printed combination almanac-

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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Between two extremes, there are such aspects of the culture as economics where a subsistence-economy that is largely Tongan in techniques and organization has been interpenetrated by a money-economy derived from European culture; or the ceremony of marriage where a Christian ritual and a civil registration have been imposed upon a Tongan way of marriage—here the Tongan form is likely to be submerged in the near future by an imported form that appeals because of its simplicity and is felt to be a necessity because of Christian teaching. But the function of marriage is still regarded in Tongan fashion as the producing of children.[25] There is as yet no evidence of a European cultural attitude that thinks in terms of contraceptives and planned parenthood.

Again, in customs relating to birth and death, Tongan practice is still largely followed in the village. Tongan midwifery is uniformly the rule at the birth of a child; and at death, Tongan customs are also followed with the exception that on the one hand Christian prayers and the singing of Christian hymns have now a part in the funeral proceedings, and on the other hand, villagers are all buried in the one village cemetery whereas in ancient aboriginal practice, before grouping in villages took place, a dead person was buried on his own plantation or under the floor of his house.

Finally, to take one more example, education, previously informal, has now become institutionalized by the establishment of a formal school-system. The curriculum and the content of this system are based on European models, the language of instruction is Tongan. This means that whatever changes are introduced into the village culture by the ability of the ordinary villager to read and write, nonetheless he is still viewing this culture through the medium of his own native language. The basis of communication within the culture, therefore, is still in terms of thought- and language-patterns which are given formal structure by the

[25] Dr. Lopdell gives us the case, which he regards as not untypical of Tongan belief and practice, of a still young married woman and her husband who had had twelve children in the first fifteen years of their marriage and none for two years thereafter, and who consulted him because of their worry over lack of more offspring. Their fear was that their neighbours would think that they no longer loved each other!

21: Simkin U-5 (no date) 1945 OU9 Tonga OU9

from rich, but it is free from the hardships of real poverty, the poisons of economic inequality, and the degradations of a proletariat.

On the cultural side the void created by the collapse of the old religious beliefs has been more than filled by Christianity, and the missions have been tender of other aspects of Tongan culture. The traditional music and handicrafts have all been encouraged along with a pride in the past. New interests have been provided by church choirs, stringed instruments and brass bands, and by the introduction of European sports like cricket. Education in English, history and geography has opened up new intellectual horizons, even if rather slowly and to too limited an extent.

Tonga's Future

If left alone to work out their future the Tongans can face it with hope and confidence. Much can be done to develop agriculture and to add new branches to it. Progress in this field holds out the hope, not only of better diet, larger real incomes, and a lessened dependence on foreign trade, but also the prospect of new vocational interests to enrich village and family life. Co-operative societies to spread agricultural knowledge, to market produce, and to operate equipment such as copra driers are already under way. New crops, animal husbandry and cotton weaving could all develop so as to give people more interesting lives as well as better standards of living. A new interest and activity is being shown in education, and real attempts are being made to develop it in the directions most needing reform. The new teachers' training college, in particular, should have valuable effects upon the quality of Tongan education, and should stimulate further educational reform.

These opportunities, however, will not be realised unless there is vigorous, imaginative and generous leadership. Tonga appears to be at a turning point—it can either move forward to a healthy nationhood or become a stagnant backwater of the Pacific. The dangers of such a decline cannot be ignored, even if they should not be exaggerated. The country's history reveals a great past, but the driving energy that made that past is not so very evident to-day. Boatbuilding and seamanship, which were once responsible for the subjection of central Polynesia, are now badly decayed. Other crafts still survive but can hardly be said to flourish. There are disturbing indications that the declining powers of the chiefs may lead to the passive acceptance of a

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

Taufa-ahau for a life of no ordinary incident and usefulness.

The very rapidity and completeness with which the Gospel spread through the Haabai islands deprives its history of those striking incidents always attendant upon success achieved under difficulty, or upon religious progress accomplished in the face of persecution. But, on the other hand, what Christian mind can consider the scene presented here, without emotions of wonder and holy joy. Through the weakest instrumentality results the most extraordinary were brought about.

With the exception of three out of eighteen inhabited islands in the Haabai group, all had made a renunciation of heathenism before Mr. Thomas landed at Lifuka, in January, 1830; and when he left the group, on his return to Tonga, in December, 1831, a short period of less than two years, there were then five hundred and fifty church members. Being succeeded by the Rev. Peter Turner, that number was nearly doubled, within a few months. In addition to the residence of the Missionaries at Lifuka, native teachers occupied five of the principal islands: Haano, Foa, Nomuka, Oua, and Mougaone, were all under the care and instruction of these men, even at that early period. Idolatry, except in part of one island, was entirely abandoned. Houses of prayer to the true God had superseded the temples of demons previously worshipped. The Lord's day was observed with scrupulous attention, while crowds assembled, on every occasion of worship, to hear words whereby many of them were savingly converted. The establishment of schools also kept pace with the spread of religious fervour. At the

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

close of 1832, there were fourteen in operation, in which the inhabitants were taught to read and write. In these schools, there were more than two thousand persons under instruction, of every age and from all classes of the community, from the child of three years to the man of grey hairs, and from the king himself to the meanest of his serfs.

The island of Uiha was the only place where any serious opposition was met. Containing, as it did, the burial grounds of the kings and chiefs of the group, this place was the stronghold of heathen worship, and, for a time, the fear and respect which its chiefs had for Taufa-ahau, did not deter them from clinging to it. They even thought that he had betrayed his country by leaving heathenism for Christ, and they, therefore, took up arms to resist his authority. Some of these opponents were the king's near kinsmen, and had been, up to that time, his closest friends. By prudent but firm and necessary measures, Uiha was at last brought back to its allegiance to the king; and, shortly afterwards, the whole range of the Haabai archipelago lay, a peaceful and glorious trophy, at the Saviour's feet.

Passing over all the intervening years, during which the advancement of religion in Haabai was simultaneous with that of the Friendly Islands at large, there were in that particular group, when we arrived in 1853,—22 chapels, 1,850 church members, 55 day schools, 2,075 scholars. These results had not been attained without immense and untiring labour on the part of my predecessors. The names of Messrs. John Thomas, Peter Turner, William Cross, John Watkin, Richard B. Lyth, Stephen Rabone, Charles Tucker, William Webb,

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

things will now go on a little more pleasantly. There are eleven schools on this island alone; and what can one Missionary do for so many, even if he had all the necessary school apparatus? Of slates, pencils, maps, &c., we are exceedingly deficient. I have prepared scores of the latter myself, and many of the children use the spines of the sea-urchin, instead of slate pencil.

18th.—Having arranged for a tour to the distant islands of the circuit, we sailed this morning for Tugua. This island is distant from Lifuka about thirty-eight miles, and is under the immediate care of Peter Vi. He visits, from it, as a central spot, all the southern part of the group. Standing on as far as a reef called Kito, we tacked from thence, and reached Tugua one hour after sunset. The visit was unexpected; but our reception was warm and hearty. Tugua will ever be associated in my mind with many pleasing and painful remembrances. It was here I first began my Missionary labours in the native tongue. It was here, also, that my late and beloved Missionary brother, William Webb, resided alone, and far removed from his other brethren, for seven years. It was likewise in the vicinity of this island, where we were both mercifully, and wonderfully, delivered from a watery grave. When I again viewed the spot, where he had laboured so long and so effectively, I felt more than pen can express; what, in fact, only a Missionary can know, who, far from the presence of kindred and friends, has had a well-beloved fellow-Missionary cut down by his side.

Before landing, we were overtaken by a heavy squall of wind and rain; and being also late, we could hold no religious service. Peter thought it

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

to know where the boat could be secured. The enormous cliffs rose abruptly from the shore, leaving only a strip of black sand, beyond high-water mark, not many inches wider than the boat itself. On my expressing a fear that even a little extra sea would probably float her away into the roaring surf, not fifty yards distant, they only laughed, and said, "It is possible, should there be a hurricane." Their unconcern somewhat reassured me; so placing one side of the boat against the cliff, and propping up the other with a few sticks, we set off for the village.

After dinner, and a little rest, I preached at sunset, and arranged for the examination of the schools, and for religious conversation with the church members, on the next day.

20th.—Breakfasted at daybreak, and afterwards met the classes. There seems to have been much ill-feeling and party-spirit here; but I hope things will now assume a happier aspect. The wind has been freshening ever since we landed, and now it blows hard; the sea is breaking right across the reef channel, so that, as a matter of necessity, I must remain here for the Sabbath. Met and examined the schools in the afternoon: when, considering the remoteness of the island from all the others in Haabai, and particularly from the Mission Station at Lifuka, I found the school in a very fair state of efficiency. The reading and writing performances of both young and old were very creditable.

Sunday, 21st.—Prayer-meeting at sunrise. Preached twice during the day. Another prayer-meeting in the evening. The whole of these services were well attended and greatly blessed. The

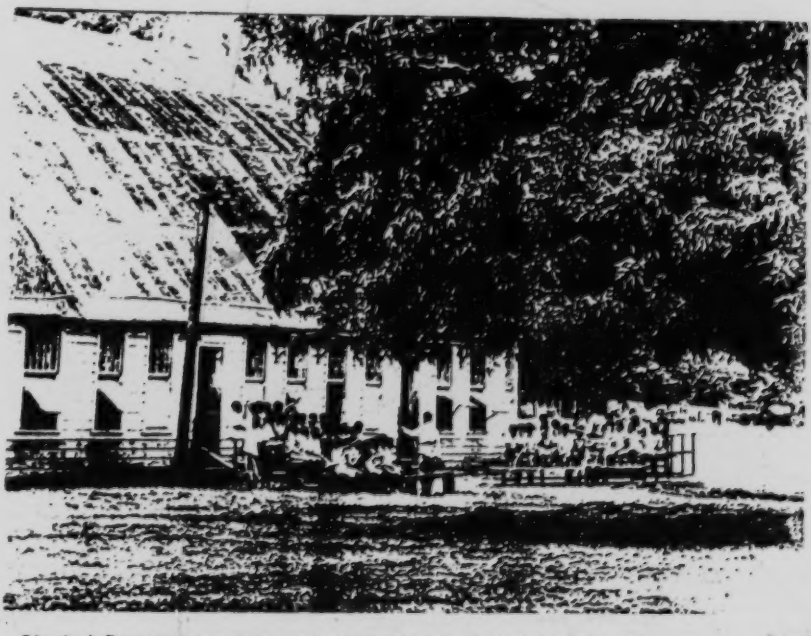
22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

His schools do him great credit. At noon we sailed for Tefoa, a small island, inhabited by some fishermen. We found it almost deserted. Held no service, but went on to Matuku, which we reached after tacking three or four times. Here I did not preach, but met and examined the school. From Matuku, we sailed to Haafeva, arriving there shortly after the sun had set. Preached to a large congregation by lamplight.

25th.—This morning examined two of the schools. The children's school, under the charge of David Jiale, reflects great credit upon his industry and ability. The singing was excellent. Jiale is one of the best men sent out from the Training Institution at Tonga; and this case shows the value of a regular training for our schoolmasters.

From Haafeva we sailed for Fotuhaa, an island very seldom visited by a Missionary, owing to its isolated position and inaccessibility. Arrived there about two P M. There is only one small and dangerous opening on the shore of this rocky and precipitous island. There is not even a fringing reef; but the full force of the open ocean sweeps against the cliffs. The usual landing place being impracticable, owing to the prevailing wind, we made for the lee side, in search of some favourable spot. At one place we discovered a number of men descending the rocks, who signalled us to land there. We therefore stood in as near as possible, took in sail, and let go the anchor. Upon this one of the men on shore sprang from a cliff twenty feet high, and swam off to the boat. By his directions, we altered our position a little, dropped the anchor again, abreast a ledge of rock, where a number of men were by this time congregated to give us help.

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9



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Education in Tonga, which is provided mainly by government and church schools, is compulsory between the ages of 6 and 14. The Tongans generally value education highly, however, and want their children to study beyond the primary level. But meanwhile, there is a serious problem arising: more and more people are being educated for a relatively few white-collar jobs. Such a trend, which is precipitating an undercurrent of discontent and appreciable migration ("brain-drain") to more industrialized countries, must be coped with. By placing more emphasis on vocational training (especially in agriculture), and by pursuing the development of economic interests within Tonga, the kingdom could enable her people to play a productive, satisfying role in the future of their country. Photo above shows some students of Nuku'alofa Wesleyan Primary School having an outdoor lesson.

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Kuo pau ke ako e Tonga kotoa mai he ta'u 6 ki he ta'u 14. Ka 'oku meimei loto e matu'a kotoa ia ke ako 'ensu fanau ki he ngata'anga 'o honau ivi. Ko e me'a mahu'inga foki e ako, ka kuo kamata eni ke ha mai ha palopalema 'i Tonga 'a ia 'oku fa'a hoko pe 'i he ngaahi fonua kuo lahi 'anau ako faka'atamai. Kuo lahi 'aupito e fa'ahinga kuo nau ma'u ha tu'unga fakaako ma'olunga 'o hange ko e ma'u mata'itohi, ka 'oku fu'u si'isi'i e ngaue fa'unga mo kinautolu 'i Tonga. Ko ia ai kuo faka'au ke 'alu atu ki muli ha fa'ahinga e ni'ihi na'e lelei anga 'ansu ako. Koe'uhi 'oku ma'u mo'ui e tokolahi mai he kaleksle pea mo tahi, 'oku totonu ke fakalahi ange 'a e ngaahi feinga ako ki he ngoue pea mo e toutai foki, kae'uma'a 'a e ngaahi ako ngaue kalekele 'o hange ko e tufunga. Ko e ngaahi tafa'aki faksako ia e 'aonga lahi taha ki Tonga 'i he ngaahi 'aho ni, pea mo e kaha'u vave taha. Ko e ta eni 'o e kalasi 'a e Ako Teu 'a e Siasi Uesiliana 'i Nuku'alofa.

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9

The distribution of population within the group has changed considerably from pre-contact days, with population movement being more responsible for this rather than inter-island differences in birth or mortality rates. During the nineteenth century, the relative importance of Tongatapu declined compared with pre-contact times; it regained its former importance only in the 1940s, since which time it has accounted for over half the total population. Together, Ha'apai and Vava'u retained their former importance until well into this century, the former until the 1940s, the latter until the 1960s. Population loss has been greatest from Ha'apai, and Vava'u has exceeded it in population since the 1920s. Undoubtedly there were movements of people within each island group, but we have no record of these from which to make an estimate until the 1931 census, about which McArthur has considerable reservations, especially with regards to Vava'u.[15] For this reason only broad changes can be discussed.

Compared with the overall annual rate of population increase from 1931 to 1956 (3.1 percent), Tongatapu increased at the rate of 6.1, 'Eua, due to Niuafo'ou resettlement, at 18.1, Ha'apai 2.2, Vava'u 2.5 and Niuatoputapu 2.4. Clearly, there was a considerable movement to Tongatapu, the greatest increases occurring in and around Nuku'alofa, in the centre, the east and the south-centre. Ha'apai was the greatest area of out-movement, with only Ha'ano, Pangai-Hihifo and the two small islands of Mango and Fonoifua having increases in excess of the national average. Vava'u was also an area of out-movement, but this was not as marked as for Ha'apai. Within the Vava'u group, the growth rate in many of the offshore islands was low and one lost population. Most villages in 'Uta Vava'u approximated the national increase, and there was a significant increase in the higher northern and western parts of 'Uta Vava'u. Neiafu's slow growth (2.1 percent) can probably be accounted for by its commercial decline since World War II, and the number of school children seeking education in Tongatapu. (41 percent of all Vava'u migrants in Nuku'alofa in 1956 were from Neiafu.)

Population Changes, 1956–66

Between 1956 and 1966 Tonga's population grew by 3.6 percent per annum; its composition became even more youthful (median age: 16.6 to 15.9); more male dominant (with the sex ratio changing from 103.5 to 105.9, for Tongans only, and an excess of males in all age groups under 60); and more Tongan (97.04 percent to 98.5 percent).

The population of all island groups increased, but with the accelerated movement of population, the rates of growth differed widely: from 'Eua 7.6 and Tongatapu 5.3 to Niuatoputapu 1.1, Vava'u 0.8, and Ha'apai 0.6 percent per annum.[16] The overall population density for

[15] McArthur (1956): 210, 214; (1967): 84. Maude (1965): 68-71, and Walsh (1964): 225-228 show details of population changes by village, 1931-56.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 35]

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 0U9 Tonga 0U9

of the migratory chain will observe traditional obligations towards their fellow kinsmen which to date have tempered the full effects of migration. If continued migratory pressures should cause a change of values at this level, it seems highly probably that attitudes towards authority, rank and status in general will also change. This could have serious consequences for government.

The effects of migration on the outer islands should also not be under-rated. Informants stated that boys successful in their schooling did not return from Tongatapu.[26] The outer islands are therefore losing their most talented youth, people who could become what Breese calls 'representatives of decentralising government programs.'[27] The decline of commercial activity has lead to an exodus of a small but vital group of part-Tongans and Europeans, and many Tongan families exercising traditional roles of leadership have also left for Tongatapu.

Even more serious is the rapid growth of Nuku'alofa where, despite government efforts, the number of jobs available continues to decline. Nearly half of the males in the working age group (20-59 years) claimed, during fieldwork in 1963, to be employed in agriculture. It was then estimated that some 31 percent of household heads were without access to land. The 1966 census showed the situation to be more serious: Fifty-eight percent of all Tongan males were without land, and 83 percent in the 15-29 year age group; while 67 percent of Nuku'alofa males had no land, and the figure for the 15-29 year age group could also be expected to be higher. While Nuku'alofa accounted for a higher proportion of those in non-agricultural activities in 1956, women constituted 35 percent of the work force and government provided over a quarter of the jobs. As the percentage of those employed in non-agricultural activities decreased slightly (20 to 19 percent) between 1956 and 1966, it is clear that the overall employment situation had deteriorated. When one realises that 'persons entering the work force in the next ten years will be eight times greater than those retiring' the task of providing further employment is formidable.[28] In such a situation it will be politically disastrous if measures are not designed to create an increasing number of jobs and to encourage people to remain in rural areas.

Hirschman has suggested three alternatives in planning: dispersal, concentration on growing points, and the promotion of backward areas. Both he and Lewis have argued strongly for a concentration on growing points, claiming that 'unbalanced growth . . . sets up pressures,

[26] Walsh (1964): 165.
[27] Breese (1966): 42.
[28] McArthur (1963): Table 3, estimates those seeking non-primary employment would number 13,460 by 1971, assuming no expansion of primary industries since 1956, and 9,030 if such expansion is commensurate with the growth of the work force.

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9

islands as a constant readjustment between real and assumed expectations, and movement is still much influenced by social factors concerned with reciprocal obligations of kin, of chief and commoner, of the village, the church, of factors concerned with social cohesion and unity.

Some new patterns have emerged. The high southern *liku* coast of Tongatapu is attracting population as other areas become more congested. Many villages have grown beyond the expected optimum size for social cohesion, and some have coalesced.[35] It seems likely that new social groupings will cut across the village and possibly undermine kin groupings which, to date, have eased problems often associated with population increase and movement elsewhere. Many of the factors influencing population movement are new, the two most obvious and important being education, which permits social mobility in a society still noted for its rigid stratification, and money, the wherewithal to achieve many new expectations, and increasingly a necessity for even the most isolated islander. Nuku'alofa is no longer a village; it has many of the characteristics of a town, and its rapid growth, its problems and attempted solutions tally with patterns of urbanisation in other parts of the Pacific. Moreover, the pace and direction of movement—to Nuku'alofa and Tongatapu—have prompted government development policies which have further exaggerated the economic imbalance among islands, leaving Vava'u with land tied up in title disputes and Tongatapu overflowing with people who have migrated in anticipation of opportunities which must often exclude the legal occupance of land.

Traditional attitudes to kin, rank and land have helped Tonga to meet the problems associated with population growth and movement with little social distress. This is true of the past, it is still true today, but it is not certain that it will be true of the future.

[35] Spillfüs (1959) considers the question of optimum village size. There were 13 settlements with over a thousand population in 1966. These accounted for 46.3 percent of the total population.

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Kirk, D., 1958, in *Selected Studies of Migrations since World War II*, Milbank Memorial Fund, Part III, pp. 11-29.

the capital to live in a village. The village that was chosen was close enough for me to have easy access to the secondary schools and centers of government and administration in Nuku'alofa, but sufficiently removed that I was forced to learn the Tongan language and was in a much better position to learn anga faka-Tonga. 114 121

The move to the village in itself necessitated a shift in the focus of my research, from an emphasis on the system of education to consideration of the wider context of the system. Beyond that, however, the more I learned about village life the more firmly I came to the conclusion that, to understand the context of education in Tonga, one must begin with elements of local organization. The reason is that access to land and other resources are limiting factors in whatever life strategy a person might adopt and may critically affect possibilities of access to education. [554 423 871]

In studying the question of access to resources, I found myself moving further and further from my original topic, away from an enquiry into the role of education in contemporary Tonga towards a study of the kinds of alternatives available to ordinary people in Tongan society. Thus my research became focused on the organization of Tongan society at the local level. Enquiry into the role of education in social change would have had to include an investigation of the relationship between education and

lantern or a Coleman lamp.

In addition to town allotments, the residential sector of the village includes three churches, a government-owned concrete water tank for collecting rainwater, and a malae or 'village green'. The malae is the large open space between the noble's house and the main road. Except for the churches, the only non-residential structures in the village are six privately-owned shops (each set on a corner of the owner's 'api), four privately-owned sheds, and an open-sided thatched structure at the side of the malae, which serves as a Baby Clinic when the visiting nurse makes her bi-weekly visit. Motulahi is also served by four schools and three burial sites or cemetries, all of which lie adjacent to or near the boundary of the residential sector. In its lack of offices or coffee-shops, Motulahi is typical of Tongan villages. The many churches and nearby schools are also typical.

History of Settlement at Motulahi

The following data, which portray the history of settlement at Motulahi, serve to flesh out the national statistics relating to processes of migration to Tongatapu. These materials also indicate something of the operation of the system of land tenure and particularly how operation of the system is an integral part of the relationship between the tofia owner and the people of his village.

621 250 acres of his estate at Motulahi to provide a new site
622 for Tonga College, the government boarding school of
166 secondary education. He was recompensed with a 200-acre
873 estate from government land at Vaikeli, originally part of
658 a government estate immediately to the west of his own,
425 while the people of Motulahi gained a major educational institution at their doorstep. (This has proved to be an additional advantage and source of attraction for residence at Motulahi.) Thus, among the 145 households in the village in 1970, we find 44 households headed by those who
871 moved to Motulahi in the 'thirties and 'forties. It was explained to me that the families had come to Tongatapu so that the children could attend the better schools on the main island, and that they had settled at Motulahi because the noble had made it easy for them to do so.

The impact of Sione Fatu's encouraging settlement at Motulahi a generation ago (i.e., around 1940) is apparent when we distinguish among adults living in Motulahi in 1970 according to the criterion of whether they were raised in Motulahi or were already adult when they first came to live in the village. (In speaking of adults, my reference is to persons aged twenty and over.) Table 4 shows that over 70% of those who were no longer children when Sione Fatu's policies came into effect grew up somewhere other than Motulahi and were already adult when they first came to live in the village. In contrast to these people, more

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 801

162 621 was under the age of twenty and over 90% were under the age of fifty. This is similar to the age distribution within the national population at the time of the census [166] [871] of 1966. However, there was a higher percentage of persons in the 10-19 year-old group in Motulahi than in the nation at large, and this might be accounted for by the fact that it is fairly common for youngsters from the outer islands to be sent to live with family on Tongatapu so that they can attend the better schools on the main island.

The distinction between persons under or above the age of twenty is significant because in speaking of Tongan adults I refer to persons aged twenty and over. The official report on the national census speaks of adults as [871] persons aged fifteen and over (Fiefia 1968). This is related to the fact that education is not compulsory beyond the age of fourteen. However, my view is that it is not productive to classify the fifteen-to-nineteen year-old age-category as adult. The reason for this is that there are certain important differences between 15-19 year-olds and 20-24 year-olds, that are apparent not only at the 162 national level but also in Motulahi (see Table 8). Those 621 in the younger age-category, generally, are still students, 877 even though schooling is not compulsory for them, whereas few persons over the age of nineteen are still in school. [873] (Persons still in school after the age of nineteen are [874] those who have stayed on in high school to prepare for

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 94]

794 795 minational affiliation and that this was also regarded with equanimity merely seemed to me to be part of the same problem, constituting one more set of data exhibiting the apparent formlessness and flux of Tongan society.

As I understand it now, denominational changes occur in association with one of the following circumstances: through schooling, marriage, and what I speak of as 'personal retooling'.

Schooling

873 [871] [872] While education in Tonga is compulsory for everyone through age fourteen or completion of primary school, higher education has become an important element of social differentiation and there is tremendous competition for admission to secondary schools. (In 1969, for example, almost three thousand boys and girls took the entrance exam that would admit about seventy students to the first grade of post-primary education in the only government high school that prepares students for university entrance.)[8] Furthermore, [658] [794] [872] while the government provides two-thirds of the primary education in the country, about 85 percent of all secondary students are educated in schools that are provided by the various denominations.

873 794 795 In considering the provision of education as an element in inter-denominational competition for adherents,

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8 Report of the Tonga Department of Education (1970: 2).

47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
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> Although . . . the language of kinship plays a dominating role in the expression of social relationships, social behaviour is not constrained by the prior existence of kinship corporations. It is not so much that the Sinhalese order their economic lives in accord with kinship relations as that their kinship relations are an expression of the way in which they order their economic lives (1960:123).

The resources available to the Tongan household must be sufficient to provide for three types of expenditures: expenditures for everyday material needs, periodic cash outlays, and contributions of goods and labor on ceremonial occasions.

The everyday material needs of a household consist mainly of foodstuffs and fuel, along with petty cash for such items as bus fares, matches, and soap. Foodstuffs and fuel are derived mainly from locally cultivated subsistence products. (There must, of course, be labor available to prepare and make use of these products, hence the need for human capital). Everyday foodstuffs that are purchased include bread, flour, sugar, salt, tea, cocoa, and dried milk. The frequency and amounts of such purchases varies mainly according to how much cash is available.

A household must also have the cash for periodic outlays to pay members' expenses, such as income taxes, the annual poll tax on every male over the age of 15, church contributions, and schooling expenses for the children, as well as to buy store-bought goods such as clothing and fabric, household utensils, and other implements. Such purchases and expenditures generally require relatively large cash outlays, which are seldom provided for through systematic savings. Instead, members of the household make a special effort to assemble the money shortly before it is needed. Men collect coconuts and make copra or else sell the coconuts directly to the Tonga Copra Board, while women prepare handicrafts for sale to tourists. There is noticeably more copra-making activity and also a well-stocked handicrafts bazaar in the weeks preceding a new school term, when money is needed for books, uniforms and school fees. Usually, people try to make more money than is needed for the major outlay at hand, with whatever is left being doled out to provide cash for everyday needs until another major effort is made.

Finally, a household must have the means for its members to make adequate contributions of goods and labor on a wide range of ceremonial occasions that occur at irregular intervals throughout the year: feasts, funerals, weddings, and so forth. There is a class of goods called *koloa* ("treasure") that come into play only on ceremonial occasions; these consist mainly of finely woven mats of various kinds (*kie, fihu,* and *ngafingafi*) and printed tapa-cloth (*ngatu*). *Koloa,* which is amassed through manufacture by women of the household or through

535 which is the widespread dance type. In Lapaha, children begin dancing
535 when very young. They watch the adults practicing faiva, they stand
644 behind them and dance, they then run off, form their own line and
868 play at faiva.
857 Performances of the ula today are at the same occasions as the
535 fa'ahiula. On these formal Catholic occasions an ula can follow after
[794] a fa'ahiula, or an ula may be performed alone. Ula are also performed
535 on occasions where it is important to demonstrate traditional
186 'Tonganness.' For example, at the opening of a private school in
[871] school in 1965, which was outside the governmental realm of the Tongan educational system, the headmaster of the school wanted to impress the Tongans with the traditional nature of the curriculum adapted to modern society. In the dance program following the dedication feast a lakalaka was performed, and then, instead of the usual tau'olunga, an ula was substituted. It was done with the si sia vahe ula rather than in the 'correct' way.

535 The most knowledgeable exponents of the ula are the same as for the fa'ahiula--that is, Ana Malia and Vaisima Hopoate who learned from their father. They have a repertoire consisting of six ula. Sister 'Okostino is another well known exponent of ula. Her repertoire consists of eight ula, four of which are different from Vaisima's.

[541] Ula, like fa'ahiula, are normally not performed during official
[621] government celebrations. During formal Catholic celebrations, only
[644]

511 durable items which are mostly cooking utensils and tools.

794 511 (127) From church records I was able to obtain the exact amount contributed at the time of the annual church collection (misinale) by households. This information is presented in Table 15 but represents only a fraction of the total given during the year.[A] Although the annual collection represents the single largest donation for each year, smaller collections are taken at other times. During the annual collection church members also contribute goods, mostly storable vegetables, but I was not able to obtain information on these contributions.

794 592 626 511 Church contributions are made publicly in the Sunday services. The name of each household head is called, and a representative of that household steps to the front of the church and lays the contribution on a table which is in view of all present. This procedure results in almost everyone having knowledge about how much everyone else contributes. (554) A great deal of prestige is attached both to the act of giving and to giving large amounts.

434 511 Most physical needs of the Tongan peasant are met through his own efforts at cultivation, fishing, and collecting. Cash is only a small part of family income and is used to purchase goods and services which (871) (794) cannot be secured through traditional means. For instance, the expenses of education and church support can only be paid for with cash.[1][B]

The Village Store

443 From the information I could obtain the first store in Puke was built in about 1908 by one of the villagers; then in 1912 a European

A. [See p. 81--Analyst] B. [For footnote, see p. 123--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 82]

NOTES (Continued)

Chapter V

871 511 434 [1]Most schools in Tonga are parochial schools; however, school fees are paid for each child in all schools. Parents must also pay for school uniforms and some school supplies. The total amount varies considerably depending on the school, but between $T15.00 and $T25.00 a year per child is usually required.

Chapter VI

597 858 121 [1]While children are important resources and there is an economic dimension present in adoption transactions, that was not the focus of my analysis of adoption. Rather, I attempted to focus on the social and psychological aspects of adoption which are the dimensions emphasized by Tongans.

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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they had their first love feast after the afternoon service on 11 October 1829. One hundred and fifty members attended and 'those who spoke did so in a very pleasing and interesting manner indicating that the word and the spirit of the living God had been powerfully at work upon their minds' (N. Turner, Journal, 11 October 1829, WMMS 1818-36, item A2835). Sunday schools were started with the hope that they would be 'productive of much good' to the rising generation. Prayer meetings were organised and encouraged, and were conducted generally by Tongan exhorters and class leaders. Some of the Tongans conducted family prayer night and morning. Turner wrote how he heard Vī and Takanoa pray, and was both very pleased and edified by them, especially Takanoa. His prayer included 'the Creation, Fall and Redemption of man, and expressed in such a manner, as at once assured me that the understanding was clear respecting them, and the heart well affected with them'.

From the beginning, the translation of the Holy Bible into the Tongan language was regarded as a vitally important part of the work of the missionaries. As early as 1829, Turner wrote, 'I would just observe that if the conversion etc., of these islanders be our object, then we must have the Scriptures . . . brought into their language . . .' (N. Turner to Committee, 27 June 1829, WMMS 1818-36, item A2835). Four months later, he reported that he and his brethren had agreed to proceed in attempting a translation of some parts of the Scriptures. Each missionary was then allotted a portion of the Bible to translate.

The missionaries took with them to Tonga the attitudes of the parent Society at home towards education. The Society promoted elementary education among their followers with vigour and enthusiasm for it was necessary to be able to read and understand the Scriptures. Facilities for the formal training of Methodist ministers both for home and overseas missions were not forthcoming until the middle of the nineteenth century. As a result, many were thrust into the work of the ministry with very little or no training at all. However, many undoubtedly accepted and followed closely Wesley's advice when he said:

> It is a shame for Christians not to improve on them, whatever he takes in hand. You should be continually learning from the experience

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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> of others or from your own experience. reading and reflection to do everything today better than you did it yesterday . . . Make the best of all that is in your hands. (Wesley. *Sermons*, I:709)

With the help of Wesley's own works and directions to his 'helpers', many of the missionaries. like their colleagues at home, did their best to remedy the deficiencies of their education, and a number succeeded well. 'I and my colleagues', wrote one of the early pioneeer missionaries in Tonga, 'have undertaken to do something in Latin-Greek-and Hebrew, Logic and Divinity every week' (P. Turner, Journal, 30 Nov. 1841). In addition to religious magazines and papers, some included on their reading lists works on politics, history (English. Greek, Roman), Pacific research, physics, astronomy, medicine and also biographical works (P. Turner, Books read: 12). Those who did not appear to make efforts at self-improvement were sharply rebuked.

The missionaries regarded the establishment of schools as a must, not only in order to enable their converts to read the Bible and to communicate with each other in writing, but also to help combat some of the superstitious beliefs of the people and facilitate the understanding of the new concepts they had to introduce. The first school to be established in Tonga was at Hihifo. It was opened by John Thomas and his wife, but it did not last long because of Ata's opposition. Before the mission at Hihifo was abandoned in 1829, several of the young men from there moved to Nuku'alofa in order to attend the school there.

It was at Nuku'alofa that schools really flourished under the leadership of Nathaniel Turner and William Cross. Their first school was opened on 17 March 1828 (Cross to Committee, 8 Sept. 1828, WMMS 1818-36. item A2834). In September of the same year attendance had risen to 150, Turner instructing the males and Cross the females. The main purpose of the schools was to teach both children and adults to read and write in the Tongan language. To begin with, the missionaries had to reduce the language into writing and then to write out everything they taught. Apparently some read as fast as the missionaries could produce these lessons for them. This was not surprising since many Tongans were eager to learn to read and write even before the arrival of the missionaries.

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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Commander J. M. Laws, of His Majesty's Sloop *Satellite*, described the situation as he saw it in 1829:

> At Tongataboo I found the natives most amicably disposed and their intellectual superiority over those of the Society Islands is very remarkable, though they are seldom visited by Europeans . . . Most of the chiefs are young men who could make themselves understood in English, and when we asked them the names of the different islands, many of them would take a slate and write them down, some agreeing to a letter with Captain Cook's account, this they have learnt from the English missionaries, three of whom are settled here, and who to my astonishment, informed me they had begun to teach the natives writing only five months ago, and in that time they had completely exhausted their stock of Tonga literature, and were now learning English of their own. (Laws 1829)

Owing to the increased pressure on the missionaries' time and energy there was a real need for further teaching aids. Turner reported on 27 June 1829 that they were forwarding a work to the colony to be printed.[1] Meanwhile Cross prepared little books in the form of tracts. Children read them to their parents at home, and when some of the already literate people went to distant parts of the islands to visit their friends, they took great pleasure in taking their books to read to them, and some started to read and even write before they attended school. Thus the popularity of school work and the novelty of literacy spread.

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The glamour of being able to read and write drew so many people to the schools—young and old alike—that the missionaries could not keep up with the demand. Turner wrote:

> Never did I see and feel the importance of time so much as I do now, the wants of the people are great, and they are continually pressing upon us to furnish them with something to read. The ears of hundreds are opened to listen to the 'Word of the Book' but alas they have no book today—Oh! that we had but a press and some one that could manage it, then would these hungry souls soon feed as in green pasture. (N. Turner to Committee, 27 June 1829, WMMS 1818-36, item A2835)

[1] The work covered the alphabet and spelling lessons; first reading lessons; the history of Creation and the Fall and other Biblical topics; a catechism. Ten Commandments and twelve hymns (N. Turner to Committee, 27 June 1829, WMMS 1818-36, item A2835).

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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the task appeared to be dragging, to the great concern of some of the missionaries. 'I am ashamed for the District', wrote Rabone. 'we are not of one heart and mind, therefore we do not go on with our work [translating]' (Rabone, Journal, 12 Dec., 1846). However, in 1853, the Reverend Richard Amos was able to write concerning a revised edition of the New Testament:

> As far as I have examined the book, I am persuaded that it is decidedly the best edition we have had, and greatly superior to any former one. If it had been printed with accented letters to mark the quantity of vowels, and the catches, or breaks, peculiar to the language, I think it might have been pronounced perfect. (*W-M Mag.*, Sept. 1854:871)

The Bible had a far-reaching effect on the lives of the people. It was not only regarded as the authority on Christian doctrine but also on day-to-day behaviour. King George called it 'a compass, a chart, telling us where we are and where to go' (Young 1854:443), and many people committed to memory long passages from it. A story is told of a sick man who, in two months, had committed to memory the books of Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians and I Thessalonians and who used to repeat a book at a time. 'Mrs. Wilson [the missionary's wife] sometimes sent him his dinner; and on one occasion, when the girl took it to him, she said, "Have you had anything to eat today?" He replied in the affirmative. "What have you had?" enquired the girl. "Had?" said he, "I have eaten the whole of the Corinthians" ' (Farmer 1855:398).

The missionaries, right from the beginning, gave education a high priority in their work. Accordingly, in their efforts to consolidate their gain, promotion of education was one of the most important tools. At the District Meeting in Vava'u in May 1850, the members were unanimous in their views with regard to education. 'We must have schools in every place,' they declared, '. . . thus elevating the rising race with the Bible in their hands, far above the darkness and baseness of heathenism, and the wicked intrigues of Popery' (*W-M Mag.*, 1851:823).

The Tongans responded to this call with great enthusiasm. King George himself took the lead and supported in every way possible the missionaries' efforts to build schools and training

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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institutions, convinced that the only thing that differentiated the white man from the others in ability and wisdom was their possession of superior knowledge. In a sermon preached from Hosea 4:6, 'My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge', King George declared:

> See what knowledge has done for the white man! See what ignorance has done for the men of this land! Is it that white men are born more wise? Is it that they are naturally more capable than others? No: but they have obtained knowledge . . . This is the principal cause of the difference. (Young 1854:443)

Schools followed conversion throughout the islands of the group in order to meet the demands of the people. The more new schools were established, the heavier the demand for teachers became. Teachers were recruited from among the ranks of local preachers, and many were ill-suited for their task. So weekly teachers' meetings were organised in order to help teachers with their work, but it soon became obvious that the only remedy lay in the establishment of an institution for training teachers.

Accordingly, the first training institution was opened at Nciafu, the capital of Vava'u, on 13 July 1841 by the Reverend Francis Wilson, who had proved himself a very able educationist. Characteristically, King George took the lead. Without the knowledge of the missionaries he had organised the erection of a building for the institution free of cost to the mission, and while at Vava'u he himself attended the institution regularly. He also gave a large piece of land for the use of the students, who had to grow their own food. Some of the students were married men with families. The majority were trained as teachers while a few were trained to be assistant missionaries.

Unfortunately Wilson died after several months of sickness in March 1846. In the following year, 1847, the General Superintendent of the Wesleyan Missions in the South Seas, the Reverend W. Lawry, arrived in Tonga with four new missionaries, Thomas Adams, George Daniel, Walter J. Davis, and Richard Amos. Amos was trained as a teacher at the Normal Institution in Glasgow,[3]

[3] The system, founded by David Stow, embodied the idea of educating 'the whole man' (Stow 1840:12).

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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643 797 669 727 Havea—his father's formidable enemies, were forgiven and were permitted to return to their respective places. When they tried to thank him for this magnanimous gesture, he told them to express gratitude to God instead, for if it were not for Him they would all have been killed (Farmer 1855:408). Practically all of them were made nobles after the constitution was promulgated in 1875.

643 797 669 727 661 It may be argued that Tāufa'āhau saw political advantages in granting pardons to his opponents, and that his so-called clemency was merely a sham. If this were so, it would be difficult to understand his refusal to get rid of Matekitonga when the chiefs and warriors of Vava'u demanded it. There can be no doubt that the clemency he showed to his enemies proved politically advantageous, and probably he foresaw this, but the fact remains that he himself attributed his actions to his Christian faith.

643 797 [743] Benevolence was another characteristic which owed much to missionary influence. Once his authority was secure he showed genuine care for the welfare of the people. Dr Lyth, the first medical missionary to Tonga, told him in 1838 about the need for a building to house the sick people brought in from various islands; he immediately promised his warm and full support for the project (Lyth, Journal, 2 April 1838). Convinced that Christianity was the best way of life for his people, he himself became not merely an evangelist, but also a crusader, in order to [871] hasten conversion. He gave his full support for the promotion of [565] education. He also led the campaign to emancipate the com- [641] moners from the absolute and arbitrary rule of the chiefs and promoted the notion of the equality of all men in the eyes of [657] the law. Later he bequeathed the revenue from the lease of Crown lands to provide free medical treatment and free education for all his subjects.

643 797 461 At the same time, King George recognised that religious conviction and mere piety without hard labour would achieve little in the promotion of the general welfare of his people. Accordingly he exhorted them to work diligently. The following speech was reported to have been given by him at a *fono* at Neiafu, Vava'u, in 1833 when the people had moved there from their villages to be close to the missionaries for religious instruction and medical

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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the Methodists were misleading them, for they were of Mr Wesley's religion, which only began one hundred years ago 'and Mr Wesley was no better than Jovili [Siovili] (an imposter, who was in the Navigator Islands a few years since, and who deceived many)' and, also, that their Bible was full of error (Farmer 1855:365).

Later, Peter Turner (Journal, 1 Dec. 1848) recorded that, while at Mu'a, he 'procured a small book belonging to the Romish party' which the priests had given to a heathen there. An extract from it reads:

> It is three hundred years since Luther was separated from the Church of Jesus Christ and commenced his religion of mere men and that Wesley has only lately been separated from Luther and begun his religion himself—just according to his own mind.
> That the curse of Luther and Wesley are the same and also the curse of Lucifer: for Lucifer was separated from God, because of his refusing to attend his majesty: and Luther and Wesley were separated from the Church, and for their refusing to listen to the Church were driven away that they might be like him (viz the devil).

Realising the importance of the Tongan language to their work, the priests applied themselves to learning it, having been greatly assisted by the fact that it had already been reduced to writing by the Methodist missionaries, and aided by their earlier contacts with Tongan speakers at 'Uvea. A few years later, one of the Wesleyan missionaries admitted how greatly he admired the way in which the priests had mastered the language. Their command of the language enabled them to establish schools by the late 1840s. Like the Wesleyan missionaries, they trained and sent more gifted members as teachers in the various places where they had converts. Peter Turner (Journal, 5 Nov. 1848) wrote:

> It is very evident that the priests are following our example in some things.
>
> 1. In sending some—to act as teachers in the various places in wh.[h] they have a few.
> 2. They are now commencing schools.
> 3. And in going out among the people.

In spite of their untiring efforts, the priests were not very successful in converting the masses to their faith as they had

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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distribution of convicted persons among them, as labourers. The missionaries believed that this kind of payment by convict labour would easily corrupt the seat of justice. They feared that the judges' decisions could easily be influenced by the knowledge that they would be paid for their work by having the prisoners who were about to be sentenced to work for them. In response to this a section of the 1862 Code requires that judges and the public officials should be paid salaries and that criminals should work for the state (Clause XXXVI:2 and 3).

The missionaries were not happy with leaving the punishment of offenders to the discretion of the judges. A spokesman for the missionaries discussed this with the King in 1850 after the promulgation of the Code of Laws of that year, but the King's reply was that he and his chiefs wanted to do things step by step (Lawry 1851:81). However, the experiences of the intervening years appear to have convinced King George that the view of the missionaries on this question was correct. In the 1862 Code there are specific penalties mentioned for infringements of the law and it is no longer left to the discretion of the judges.

Another matter which had caused some concern to the missionaries was the absolute power of the King, which they believed was far too great. While they were satisfied that King George exercised this power with great prudence and equity, they feared that such power would probably be quite unsafe in the hands of his successors. A response to this may be seen in the provision concerning the King which makes him subject to the laws in the same way as the people (Clause I:3).

From the start, the missionaries had recognised the importance of education in lifting the general standards of the people. One missionary wrote: 'a great work remains to be done. There are multitudes of young persons growing up, who, if not blessed with a proper *training*,—physical, intellectual, moral, and religious—will be the pests of society, and worse than heathen, if possible' (*Wesleyan Missionary Notices*, Jan. 1859:10).

At first the Tongans showed great interest and enthusiasm for education but by the fifties many had become apathetic and the majority had ceased to attend school. One missionary wrote in 1857:

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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> We stand by our schools, and are trying to prosecute this department of the work with vigour. It is very arduous and often discouraging, through the indolence and indifference of the people. Civilization and commerce are not yet sufficiently advanced to make them feel so deeply the importance of secular knowledge, as to impel them onward in its pursuit as ardently as to conquer the natural indifference of a tropical constitution; hence we are often discouraged; but 'though faint we yet pursue'. (*Wesleyan Missionary Notices*, April 1858:53)

[671] The missionaries were very concerned about this situation. They discussed the matter with the King and his governors and the results can be seen in the provisions of the Code which make education compulsory (Clause XXXII).

Naturally, they were pleased about this, for it must be remembered that the only schools which existed at this time were mission schools. One missionary wrote of this law:

> I am thankful to entertain the hope that the King, in conjunction with his chiefs, has enlarged our field of usefulness, by compelling parents to educate their children . . . many of the parents took their children away from the school, or allowed them to neglect it; but this will not be the case in future. The people have been set at liberty by a good King, and one of their best interests has evidently not been overlooked in the enactment of such a law. Wisdom is the handmaid of Religion, and we hope that our labours to extend the Gospel, by religiously educating the rising generation, will produce much fruit. (*Wesleyan Missionary Notices*, April 1863:355)

671 King George seems to have been convinced of the wisdom of
651 establishing a public revenue, as St Julian had emphasised in his letters. Customs duties were levied on wines and spirits, arms and ammunition. A licence of 100 dollars per annum was required for the sale of spirits, and every male over 16 was to pay a poll
671 tax. Finally the new Code gave powers to the government to
423 resume uncultivated lands which were not used by the people as a further incentive for the productive utilisation of land, thereby indirectly promoting the growth of the economy (Clause XL).

671 The missionaries gave the promulgation of the 1862 Code a
797 mixed reception. Baker praised the event very highly, while another missionary, Whewell, wrote critically:

[651]

> The doings of this parliament will affect our work in its most fundamental organizations and institutions . . . in a way you little

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
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> love, yet such is the apathy of some, that they prefer quietly to retire or remain aloof from the Society, rather than make the required effort, and so maintain their position in the Church. On account of this we have lost not a few . . . .

The missionaries had reason for alarm, for in addition to the decrease in attendance there was a sharp drop in the amount of money they sent from Tonga to the Committee in Sydney. In 1862 the mission sent the Committee £2,330 5s 6d, partly in cash and partly in coconut oil, but the amount had decreased to only £1,232 13s 1d in 1864, a drop of about 47 per cent, and £532 7s 6d in 1865, a drop of about 75 per cent. This was indeed a grave matter for the missionaries, particularly when they knew that the Committee in Sydney had a tendency to measure the efficacy of their work in terms of pounds, shillings and pence.

The 1862 Code was also blamed for the young people's growing indifference to education. 'Our Institution', said the Ha'apai Circuit Report, 'has also received our attention, but we do not number so many at present as in former years, arising from various causes, one being that the new political changes have exercised a worldly influence upon the minds of our youth' (*RAWMMS* 1864:33). This was a worry to the missionaries, particularly when it was so obvious to them that education played a vitally important part in the success of the mission's work.

Faced with all these difficulties and disappointments, the missionaries applied themselves vigorously and enthusiastically to the task of revitalising every facet of their work. Effective attempts were made to gain new converts and to reconvert the apostates, and the annual subscription to the mission fund was successfully raised to £3,770 in 1866 (*RAWMMS* 1867:110). Education received considerable attention and it certainly showed a marked sign of reviving. In fact the missionaries achieved their purpose to a remarkable degree. But their preoccupation with the revitalisation of the mission's activities led them consciously or unconsciously to restrict their sphere of influence. By so doing, they unwittingly strengthened the inherent narrowness of outlook which had already become a formidably negative factor in the church-state relationship.

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9

EDUCATION. Primary education is free and compulsory to the age of 14 years, and the number of illiterate Tongans is very small. There are 73 Government Primary Schools with an enrolment of 3,016, and 40 Primary Schools controlled by the various Missions with an enrolment of 2,958. Provision is made for the secondary education of boys by the Government and the Free Wesleyan Church and Roman Catholic Church, and for that of girls by these two Missions only. In recent years arrangements have been made by the Government for the training of medical students at the Central Medical School, Fiji, and also for higher education on scholarships in Australia.

RELIGION. Government statistics (1931) show the following :— Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga 16,711 ; Free Church of Tonga 4,679 ; Church of Tonga 2,771 ; Roman Catholic Church 3,340 ; Church of England 311 ; Latter Day Saints 728 ; Seventh Day Adventists 232.

THE GOVERNMENT OF TONGA, LAW COURTS, ETC.

As defined by the Constitution of 1875, Tonga is a limited monarchy following the English system, and the government consists of (1) The Sovereign and the Privy Council, (2) The Cabinet, (3) The Parliament (Legislative Assembly).

THE PRIVY COUNCIL advises the Sovereign on affairs of State and makes ordinances in the interval between Parliaments ; these ordinances become laws if the following Parliament confirms them. Another very important duty of the Privy Council is that of preparing the Estimates of Revenue and Expenditure for the following year. Using the information supplied by the various Departments, the Privy Council calculates how much money it expects to receive from taxation, etc., and how much money may be spent in each Department in the following year. Having drawn up these Estimates, the Privy Council sends them to the Consul who has the right of veto over the expenditure of the Tonga Government, and, finally, they are sent to Parliament for approval. At present the members of the Privy Council are :—The Sovereign (President), the Speaker of Parliament (Vice-President), the Premier, the Minister of Lands, the Minister of Police, the Governors of Vava'u and Ha'abai, and two European members, the Chief Justice and the Treasurer. Members of the Privy Council are appointed by the Sovereign.

THE CABINET consists of the members of the Privy Council, except the Sovereign and the Speaker of Parliament. The Premier is the chairman of the Cabinet, which is really a committee of the Parliament to control the property of the Government, to make appointments to the Public Service, and to transact such matters as deciding the terms on which leases of land may be granted.

PARLIAMENT meets each year about the end of June, its session lasting about one month. Its members are :—The Speaker and members of the Cabinet, seven nobles elected by the 33 nobles of the Kingdom, and seven representatives elected by male taxpayers 21 years and over. Three of these representatives are elected by Togatabu and the two Niuas, two by Ha'abai, and two by Vava'u, and the seven nobles represent the nobles of those districts in the same proportion. Each section of the

795 church officials comes directly or indirectly from the
434 agricultural system. It is not uncommon for a family to give more than fifty percent of its annual income to support the church.

871 An increasingly important focus of Tongan society is
178 on formal education. In many cases, the tangata poto (the
555 wise or educated man) is considered almost on par with
554 traditional leadership and has been able to ascend to positions of power and prestige within Tongan government
871 and society. Villages and families play a major role in supporting church, government, and private schools through
875 fees or by providing labor and produce. Teachers,
554 especially headmasters, are becoming increasingly influ-
178 ential personalities in the contemporary society.

621 Divisiveness is sometimes brought about by diverse
[578] religious affiliations within a village, but usually the spirit of neighborliness within a given village, especially a small one, makes it a viable social unit. In the past more villages were comprised of members of the same kainga, matakali or even ha'a. At present, however, most villages are comprised of individuals of many different families, lineages, and religious denominations, but there is still a feeling of "oneness" and the concept of neighborliness or feitokoni'aki (helping one another) within the village and
622 among affiliates of a common landlord. Traditionally,
178 village leadership was in the hands of the noble. At
565

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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and he "succumbed to the corrupting influence of power". The L.M.S. historian, Norman Goodall, added — 797

> "He provides a pathological exception — with, perhaps, a warning — to the general run of missionaries".(5)

The early Wesleyan missionaries did not regard piety and learning as opposed to each other. Their diaries, regularly kept according to instructions from headquarters, reveal more than their self-examination and spiritual trials. They give evidence of the missionaries' self-discipline and the extent of their reading and continued studies, some in Latin, Greek and Hebrew. They maintained these studies in an enervating climate and under conditions which often were most depressing.

The civilizing benefits of Christianity and the introduction of useful occupations to their converts were stressed to a greater extent by the L.M.S. missionaries than the Wesleyans. Nevertheless, the "work-ethic" was always upheld. The indolent habits of the people were condemned, excessively, we may say today.

Education was not regarded primarily as part of the civilizing process but as an agent in evangelism. It was necessary for converts to be able to read the Bible. Only much later did any doubts arise about whether the Missions should devote so much of their energies to academic education. The early missionaries believed that education developed powers of moral discrimination; they said they were training a people in whom conscience seemed lacking. Even in the 20th Century the Missions have generally advocated keeping education in their hands as a weapon for combating secularism and a means of developing the type of character expected of practising Christians.

Through mission education, Tongans, Fijians and Samoans became literate when there was still much illiteracy in Victorian England; secondary education, even to a very limited extent, was being given when comparatively few adolescents in England were receiving it; and girls were gaining a good education under mission auspices when there were not many girls' schools in England.(6) Furthermore, vocational and agricultural training was gradually introduced to enable the islanders to build and preserve their society under new conditions of contact with the outside world.

Education tended to become competitive, especially with the coming of new missionary societies which set up their own schools. The cost of maintaining a complete educational system for a whole community became too burdensome for any mission; and, therefore, governments assumed more responsibility for education. Government grants-in-aid or subsidies helped to make mission schools viable but, in the more sophisticated countries, these subsidies were reduced. Where there was a large non-Christian element, notably in Fiji with its Indian community, the government share in education was correspondingly increased. On the other hand, the policy of the Wesleyan Church in Tonga was exceptional: that Church maintained a complete educational system, and (to the present time) has done this without any government subsidy whatever.

Medical work was only a minor part of the early Pacific Islands missionaries' ministrations, but it was an expression of Chrisitan compassion. "The Christian ethic of healing" stood out in contrast to many callous practices in a non-Christian society. It is true that recovery from sickness after the missionaries' prayers and

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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[1827-1827]

The Sydney Gazette, 8 October 1827, reported that the ship *Industry* had 797
left that day for Tonga. It took Turner and Cross with their wives and Turner's three children, Weiss (who had come on the return voyage of the *Governor Darling* from Tonga) and his wife and three children; two servants and three Maoris completed the party. The ship also took back the goods which Thomas and Hutchinson had sent away on the *Governor Darling*.

The new missionaries arrived at Hihifo on 2 November 1827. The determination of Turner and Cross to rescue the Mission from failure had an immediate effect. Thomas was indeed amazed at the resolute spirit of the newcomers who had

> "a settled determination to prosecute the Mission in some other part of the group should it be found absolutely necessary to abandon the present station" (i.e., Hihifo).[17]

The opportunity was found at once at Nuku'alofa where Turner worshipped with the Tahitian teachers on 4 November, the first Sunday after his arrival. Turner and Cross decided to make Nuku'alofa their base of operations and here they built on the foundations faithfully laid by the Tahitians who willingly co-operated with them. The Tahitians told the newcomers that they would have been glad to go to Fiji which they had expected to be their field.

Turner and Cross lost no time in beginning to learn the language in which Thomas and Hutchinson had made no headway. Turner had read Mariner's book and begun learning the vocabulary on the voyage from Sydney. The speedy success of Cross was still more commendable because Turner was already proficient in the Maori language and Cross had only just arrived from England.

On 2 December 1827 a simple hymn of two verses, written by Turner, was sung at a service; it was the first time a Christian hymn had been sung in the Tongan language.[16] On 24 January 1828 Turner was able to take part of a service in Tongan, to the astonishment of his hearers. It was Turner who was [212]
responsible for the orthography and spelling which the first District Meeting approved, on 27-28 January 1828.

The missionaries also immediately began a school, following the work of the 871
Tahitians. Turner employed the teaching methods he had found successful in 797
New Zealand, and his school grew to 500 in six months. One of his Maori helpers proved a useful assistant teacher. Turner taught the males, and Cross the female pupils.

In the first District Meeting, on 27-28 January 1828, Turner, as Chairman, 797
was under the painful necessity of inquiring into the official charge, of wrongfully deserting the mission, against Thomas and Hutchinson. The little meeting "forbore to pass any censure against them" and merely made a report to the Committee. Thomas felt deeply the charge against him, a novice in an unfriendly situation and with an unco-operative colleague. After transacting formal business and disposing of the charge, Turner recorded, "We discussed the doctrines of Methodism, especially the grand doctrine of sanctification". So the little company of pioneer missionaries showed loyalty to their denomination's usages and ideals, in this new mission field.[19]

Turner, naturally, was very disappointed when, soon after his arrival and 797
the auspicious beginning, Aleamotu'a felt forced to abandon attendance at 643
worship. This embargo was placed on him as a condition of his being elected Tu'i Kanokupolu. On 7 December 1827 Turner witnessed the ceremony under

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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The missionaries regarded these seven men as "the first fruits of the Gospel" in Tonga.[25] A short catechism had been compiled a few weeks before this event, and the catechumens repeated the answers before the congregation at their baptism. On 29 March 1829 Aleamotu'a's wife, Moala, was baptized and named Mary. Four other women were baptized with her. 797 795

When children of parents already baptized were brought, Turner set apart those below eight years and treated those above eight as adults who entered a class for instruction. It was Turner's practice to baptize candidates by sprinkling as they knelt around the communion table. He gave them biblical names as well as agreeing to their retaining their Tongan names. Incidentally, John Williams, while commenting very favourably on Turner's work during his visit to Nuku'alofa in 1830, criticized the giving of biblical names. However, it became standard practice in the Tongan Wesleyan Church. It was also the custom for baptized persons to sit under and around the pulpit, apart from the rest of the congregation.

Eleven more were baptized on 9 April 1829 when the congregation numbered nearly 500, Turner reported. By April 1829 Turner had completed the first Scripture lessons, catechism, and some hymns, and had sent these to Sydney to be printed. He had also translated the marriage service from the Prayer Book, and on 3 May the first Christian wedding service was held. On 24 May there was the first Christian burial, for an old convert named Job, so named because of his patience in prolonged illness. On Whitsunday, 7 June 1829, the first Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in which Tongans participated was observed. There were twenty-six Tongan communicants. [794] 797 [585] [764] [788]

The District Meeting, on 23 June 1829, reported 31 full members, with 90 on trial. It asked the Committee for two additional missionaries, one with medical knowledge, the other with printing experience; and a printing press was requested.[26] [794]

By 25 June, William Cross had produced summaries of Old Testament and New Testament narratives, and had translated the Acts of the Apostles to chapter eleven — a remarkable feat in about eighteen months. Cross and Turner reported to the Committee that there were 495 in the schools and that [871] [212]

> "many of the people can read with fluency and write in such a way as would astonish you."

They added two significant comments:

> "The great and good work which the Lord is doing among us here is almost incredible to ourselves who are eye and ear witnesses to the facts. . . . And we enjoy perfect harmony among ourselves."

The "Lovefeast" was a treasured Wesleyan ordinance in which worshippers gave testimonies, and the first of these was held on 11 October 1829. About forty, including Aleamotu'a and his consort, spoke on this occasion.

At the District Meeting on 31 December 1829, is was decided that a man and woman living together should be married before they were baptized, and that candidates for baptism should meet "in class" for at least three months and, after baptism, spend three months "on trial" before full membership. The wise direction of the Chairman could be seen in these rules. It was also reported that there were 72 full members, with 23 others baptized but not yet full members, 123 others on trial, and that there were 478 scholars in four schools, at Nuku'alofa, Hofoa, Havelu, and Fanga.[27] [794] [795] [871]

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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[1831]

in villages in the central district, in places that had hitherto been hostile to Christianity. 797

Reinforcements for the Mission came on 10 March 1831. The new missionaries were Peter Turner, James Watkin, and William Woon. Peter Turner (who was not related to Nathaniel) was born in Manchester in 1802. Enthusiastic and evangelistic, he became a very popular preacher; his four years in Samoa (1835-9) made him a legend among the Wesleyans of that group. James Watkin also was born in Manchester, in 1805. He proved an able administrator in his six years' service (1831-7) and afterwards in New Zealand and Australia. A son of James Watkin, Jabez Bunting Watkin, was a missionary in Tonga for nearly 60 years (1866-1925), the last forty years as President of the Free Church which separated from the Wesleyans. William Woon was a Cornishman, born in 1803; he had been trained as a printer and he brought with him a printing press, a valuable acquisition for the Mission and a source of wonder to the people in Nuku'alofa. Woon was a competent but slow printer and a poor preacher (so Thomas noted before Woon left the Mission on 5 January 1834).[33]

On 14 April 1831, just before Nathaniel Turner left, he had the satisfaction of seeing the first books printed in Tonga, a book of 60 hymns and a four-page school-book (3000 copies). A second school-book was ready also for printing. A copy of the first hymn-book is in the National Library, Canberra, probably the only copy still in existence. Its sixty hymns are elementary efforts but it is remarkable that so many had been written and printed in less than four years after Turner and Cross came. (A copy of the 1835 school-book, eight pages, also is in the National Library, Canberra.) After Woon left the printing press was removed to Vava'u. 213

Continuous ill-health forced Nathaniel Turner to leave Tonga in April 1831. The transformation in little more than three years had been amazing indeed. Instead of failure and the projected abandonment of the Mission by John Thomas and Hutchinson in 1827, the work was now firmly established. When Nathaniel Turner left, the Mission reported 505 full members, 528 on trial (a total increase of 598 for the year); in Tongatapu there were 14 schools, 35 teachers, 953 scholars; in Ha'apai already 8 schools, 77 teachers, 1037 scholars; and 10,000 small books had been printed in Tongan and were in use in the schools. If Turner had been able to continue in Tonga, still greater success would have followed under his wise direction, and probably the grave mistakes of later years would have been avoided. General sorrow was shown by chiefs and people in Nuku'alofa on the missionary's departure. Before he left he urged the Committee to send missionaries not only to Vava'u and the Niuas but also two to Fiji.[33] In 1853 Turner had the gratification of visiting Tonga when he accompanied the deputation from the British Conference, Robert Young; and he then saw the fruit of the work that he had been compelled to leave in 1831. 797 [794] [871] [213] [212]

John Thomas, who had been stationed in Ha'apai since January 1830, succeeded Turner as Chairman of the Friendly Islands District, occupying that position until he went on furlough to England in 1850.

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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[1832-1833]

by Aleamotu'a. It was an old canoe that proved unmanageable in the storm that struck it between Tongatapu and Nomuka, southern island of the Ha'apai group. During a battering of two days and a night the canoe was driven back, and at dusk on the second day it struck a reef. All the seventy occupants were swept into the sea. Mrs. Cross, a delicate woman, was struck repeatedly by the waves and she died in her husband's arms. He was unconscious when dragged ashore on the small island of Toketoke, near Atata, the island off the north-western tip of Tongatapu. Twenty-one were drowned. Mrs. Cross's body was washed up later at Hihifo and buried at Nuku'alofa. The bereaved missionary had lost all his possessions also. In the month following this tragedy he went alone to his task in Vava'u.

There was a heroic quality in this quiet missionary. After beginning his work in Vava'u Cross went, in May 1832, to the northern island of Niua Toputapu, 180 miles beyond Vava'u, and stayed there seven weeks winning converts. On 1 June 1833 Taufa'ahau also went to Niua Toputapu on a passing whaler, together with a teacher who was appointed to that island. The people were surprised to find that Taufa'ahau did not force them to change their religion although he did everything possible to expose the falsity of their idols as he had done in Ha'apai and Vava'u. Watkin afterwards reported (27 February 1834) that the first party to take Christianity to Niua Fo'ou, the island to the west of Niua Toputapu, was menaced by the people according to their custom when any unexpected voyagers approached their lonely island; the Vava'u Christians had muskets but put only powder in them to frighten the islanders and gain a landing. Before long Christianity was firmly established on both these distant outposts of the Tongan group.

On 5 August 1832 Finau was baptized with the name of Zephaniah, together with eight of his children. A large chapel was built at the main village, Neiafu. On 9 August Cross held a service when the first post was driven. About 3,000 people were present at the opening service on 17 September.[30] First, the missionaries, Cross and Turner, entered, then the excited crowd trod on each other and almost pulled down the fence as they rushed to the doors. Vava'u became famous as "the land of chapels".[31] The enthusiastic villagers vied with each other in erecting ornate chapels — a characteristic of Vava'u ever since.

Before the end of the year 1832, 660 people in Vava'u were meeting "in class" and there were 1,012 in the schools. On 12 August 1833 the first Lovefeast in Vava'u was held, with 2,000 present; "the thing was new to the people . . . many wept".[32] The 1833 report for the District showed:

Tongatapu	955 members,	204 on trial,	840 scholars
Ha'apai	2,000 members,	1,084 on trial,	2,613 scholars
Vava'u	900 members,	1,500 on trial,	2,252 scholars

Finau died on 18 February 1833. He had nominated Taufa'ahau as his successor and there was no opposition to Taufa'ahau adding Vava'u to his own territory of Ha'apai. When Taufa'ahau was installed on 30 April all the Vava'u chiefs assented. Peter Turner was present when this occurred.[33] Some years afterwards it was said that Taufa'ahau was intended only to be regent for Finau's young son, Matekitonga, but there was no evidence of Finau having indicated this. Even if it were true, Taufa'ahau had become Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1845 and had thus united all Tonga under his rule, and this took place before Matekitonga had grown to manhood. Captain Peter Dillon, arch-critic of Taufa'ahau and the

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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[1841-1847]

catechists and preachers he used theological lectures prepared by the saintly John Hunt who died in Fiji in 1848. Amos's institution became a model also in its appearance; the homes of the married students were set in trim gardens and connected with well-kept paths. His students worked four hours each day in their food-gardens on the block of 20 acres set apart for them.

On his second visit in 1850, Lawry held an examination day for all the Tongatapu schools. It was a great festival indeed. Lawry stood on Zion Hill and was overwhelmed with emotion as he thought of the conditions that he found in 1822-3 and as he now saw the approaching lines of schools from the different villages, accompanied by their choirs:

> "The processions emerged from the luxuriant groves of evergreens and shade, and ascended the Chapel Hill, with measured step and slow pace, singing their 'songs of degrees' (psalms of ascents), the females taking their part and the men theirs, all joining in full chorus." (21)

So successful was the work of Amos in Nuku'alofa that other schools on his model were set up. Still designated "Superintendent of Schools", Amos was appointed to Vava'u. The Ha'apai Circuit in 1850 gave a glowing account of its schools; it referred particularly to Queen Salote (Lupe Pau'u), then resident in Lifuka:

> "She not merely attends as a teacher, but tries to improve herself and, although an elderly lady, yet she makes constant improvement in reading, writing and arithmetic." (22)

Much depended upon the influence of the chiefs in the various districts, and reports showed that in some cases schools lapsed altogether because of the apathy of the elders and their failure to encourage the children to attend. The imposition of civil penalties (e.g., fines) sometimes helped. Schools for adults gradually ceased.

King George had strongly supported Amos's work at Nuku'alofa and this school continued to flourish after Amos removed to Vava'u.(23) The sermon most often quoted on the subject of education was given by the king in Fiji on his way to Sydney in 1853. The text was Hosea iv. 6, "My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge". In his sermon he declared that the Europeans had the advantage over Tongans, not in physical but in intellectual equipment, and their fundamental strength lay in the Bible, the source of true knowledge. The king's words set the goal for the future Tupou College.

The king in that sermon expressed what all Tongan converts believed; Christianity was the religion of a Book. The Anglican divine, William Chillingworth, may have exaggerated the case when he said in 1638, "The Bible and the Bible alone is the religion of Protestants", but every Protestant missionary considered it essential that the translated Scriptures should be in the hands of converts as soon as possible. The Roman Catholic priests in the Pacific had some justification for calling the Protestants "the Biblical missionaries". The pioneers, Nathaniel Turner and his colleagues, knew the importance of not only the Scriptures, but the catechism, hymns, and a simple liturgy for the people's use. The 1841 District Meeting, under John Waterhouse, set up a Translation Committee. The Meeting decided to "avoid as far as possible the introduction of foreign words" and also recommended that a specially qualified missionary be added to the staff for translating,

> "as the missionaries in Tonga do not profess a critical knowledge of the original tongues". (24)

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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[1856 - 1865]

Even if the king's attitude towards the missionaries was not the same as in earlier years, he was, generally speaking, on friendly terms with them and showed them much kindness. His personal exertions in rescuing Mrs. Amos and family from their mission-house in Vava'u, when it was demolished in the hurricane of 10 December 1856, was only one clear example.[38] He was also actively engaged in preaching, except during the period of the *tukuofo* incident. When Thomas Adams reported to Eggleston a spiritual movement in Vava'u in which more than a hundred were converted, these included some members of the king's family, and Adams especially mentioned the earnestness of Tupou's preaching.[39] The king frequently acknowledged his country's indebtedness to the Wesleyan Mission, for religious, educational, and social benefits. A signal mark of his gratitude was the building of a new chapel on Zion Hill, Nuku'alofa. Not only did he advocate and promote this and express his will that it should be opened free of debt, but he gave $2.000 as a personal donation and he was present daily directing the work of building. The chapel was opened in July 1865.

Nevertheless, there were more clouds on the horizon. Shirley Baker reported to Eggleston (21 April 1863):

> "The king has shown that he is determined to be king. He does not seem to have the same confidence in us as he had: he sees we are not exactly one!" (40)

This was an understatement indeed; and it came from Baker, who was prominent in the Mission quarrels and scandals of the next twenty years. The lack of unity in the staff became the undoing of the Wesleyan Mission in Tonga, and it sprang especially from the rivalry of Baker and Moulton.

* * * *

James Egan Moulton was one of a line of preachers that went back to John Wesley's days. He was born in 1841 at North Shields, Northumberland, and brought up in a Wesleyan parsonage. He and his three brothers were all singularly gifted. The eldest was William Fiddian, headmaster of the Leys School, Cambridge, and a member of the New Testament Revision Committee, Westminster Abbey, 1870-80. The others were John Fletcher, who became a Lord Justice of Appeal, and Richard Green, Professor of English Literature, Chicago University. J. E. Moulton himself was a sound scholar in Hebrew and Greek, and was regarded by his brothers as even more talented than they. He offered for foreign missionary work in China; this was changed to Fiji, and he studied the Fijian language on the voyage from England. From June 1863 until May 1865 he was detained in Sydney as Acting Headmaster of Newington College, the newly-established Wesleyan boys' school. He was married in Sydney on 23 December 1864 to a niece of John Eggleston, Missionary Secretary.

George Tupou had ardently supported the work of Richard Amos and others in education; the schools had grown to 161, with 654 teachers and 6,164 pupils (in 1858). The king wanted education of a higher standard. When he heard of Moulton, he requested the Church authorities in Sydney to send him to Tonga instead of Fiji. Moulton arrived in Nuku'alofa on 30 May 1865. With intervals towards the end of his life he served Tonga for forty years. Moulton met the king's ambition for an advanced institution, and his genius attracted young men and, later, young women, who were introduced to knowledge of the outside world, past and present. His creation of an intellectual elite was not so fortunate in some of its effects.

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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[1900 - 1904]

The Methodist General Conference of 1904 deplored the action of Bishop Willis in setting up the Anglican Church in a land long evangelized by the Methodists. This, it said, was a venture "calculated to stir up dissension". However, the General Conference did no more than make this protest. Since then the Anglican Church, supported mainly by European residents but taking also a useful part in the education of Tongan students in Nuku'alofa, has been on amicable terms with the other Churches.

Shirley Baker died on 16 November 1903 in Ha'apai. His devoted daughters built a massive monument over his grave; the statue represents the ex-Premier holding the Constitution of 1875, which his friends regarded as his masterpiece.

At the Free Church Conference on 16 May 1901, another Constitution, approved by the king, was adopted. There seemed to be no lack of new Constitutions and new names for the Church. This was called "The Constitution of the Church of Free Tonga, 1901". It stated that "while the king remains a member he will be in contact with the Conference in all matters". The king was to appoint the President and to have the right of approving all subsequent Presidents. This Constitution followed the recognition of the Church as virtually a State Church in the Gazette of 27 January 1898.

On 13 March 1900 Salote Mafile'o Pilolevu was born to George Tupou II and Queen Lavinia Veiongo. The first reference by a European to the future Queen Salote was made by Basil Thomson, who saw the infant princess, then three weeks old, during his visit for the Treaty negotiations.(43)

In 1902 Tupou II became ill and it was feared that the illness would be fatal. Seddon, Prime Minister of New Zealand, took this opportunity to cable Joseph Chamberlain, Colonial Secretary, suggesting that Britain should be ready to annex Tonga, but Britain declined to take any action.(44)

Queen Lavinia died on 25 April 1902, and Salote was given into the care of a remarkable woman, Rachel Tonga, who was the widow of David Tonga, Moulton's chief assistant at Tupou College in earlier years. Rachel was also the sister-in-law of John Mateialona, a later Premier. In Salote's formative years, Rachel Tonga's influence was profound, encouraging a Christian faith and imparting to the princess a knowledge of Tongan history and traditions. As chaperone, she accompanied Salote at the age of nine to Auckland where the future Queen afterwards became a pupil at the Church of England Diocesan Girls' School. In later years the Queen referred to her experience at this school in the happiest terms. She was confirmed in Auckland and received communion in the Church of England, but her membership was always with her own Church in Tonga.

In 1904 the Government's finances were in a parlous state, as they had been when the Treaty with Britain was made in 1900. There was much criticism of a foreign firm which had indue influence over the king, had a monopoly of Government contracts, and lent money to the Government on its own terms. It was alleged that the king used Government revenue to pay some of his personal expenses. The Consul at the time, Hamilton Hunter, was contriving with some of the chiefs to depose the king in favour of his father, Fatafehi Tu'ipelehake, who was willing to save Tonga from any possibility of annexation by New Zealand.(45)

In December 1904 the High Commissioner, Sir Everard im Thurn, came to investigate the position. He dismissed some Europeans from the Government for

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

Wheen, now President-General, were welcomed to the celebrations which lasted several weeks. 797

It was hoped that the Centenary would remove any consciousness of differences within the united Church and even soften the hearts of those who had refused to join it. Undoubtedly, there was a fulfilment of the first desire. A very emotional outburst of religious fervour and Christian love indicated this. The revival (as it seemed to be) began in January 1926 in the village of Koulo in Ha'apai. Like the Pentecostal experiences in Vava'u in 1834 it spread very quickly through the whole of Tonga. "The love has fallen" upon the Church, the people said, and any friction within the united Church disappeared. The second desire, that there would be a movement towards completing union, failed entirely; the Centenary celebrations left untouched those who were opposed to union. 795

It was intended that a Centenary Church in Nuku'alofa should be the most demonstrative memorial. The site on historic Zion Hill where the old Wesleyan Church had stood was too small for the very large building now planned. Financial difficulties, with the economic depression and then the Second World War, caused repeated delays with this project; and it was not until 1952 that the imposing Centenary Church, seating over 2,000, was built. 368 346

Some of the financial difficulties in the Church arose from the pressure of chiefs who expected the Church to retain their favour by making loans to them. This practice had been widely followed before union in 1924 and it proved difficult to reverse it suddenly. This illustrated another problem in a "chiefly Church". 795 426 565 622

It was not only at the highest national level that deference to the chief could cause a weakness in the Church. At the local level the ministers were sometimes brought into conflict with the chiefs' authority. It was traditional for the people to follow a chief's decision. When moral and spiritual issues were concerned and when a chief thought little of the standards of the Church it was difficult for a minister in the village to oppose him. For example, he might countenance alcohol or gambling or he might expect his wishes regarding church property or money to be obeyed. In all such cases it required a strong personality in a Tongan minister to uphold both moral principles and strict church procedures against a chief. 795 622 565

Better education, general and religious, for chiefs and people, and better theological training for the ministry, were needed to strengthen the Church's character and influence. In the forty years of division in Tonga educational progress was hindered not only by the limited resources of the Wesleyan Church but by the continuing rivalry between Church and Government, aggravated by the old differences between the Wesleyans and the Free Church, the latter supported by the Government system of education. 795 871

Reunion led to new opportunities in education. Before reunion Tupou College had waned greatly in numbers. It had continued to use Tongan as its medium, with the large amount of literature translated by Moulton. However, the growing need for English was recognized by the establishing of a new section with this objective; this was built in 1921 at Nafualu, four miles west of Nuku'alofa. At first it had only 20 students, with the brilliant historian-anthropologist, Dr. E. E. V. Collocott, as Principal; he retired early in 1924. The school grew to 104 in 1928. The girls' section, soon to be called Queen Salote College (in honour of George 795 873 [191]

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
0U9 Tonga 0U9

Arthur M. Sanders, an Englishman, hearty and dependable, served for thirteen years at Vava'u. A forceful preacher, he possessed a magnificent speaking and singing voice. 793 797

Charles Moore, another Englishman, gave eight unbroken years most conscientiously to an appreciative people in Ha'apai and Vava'u.

George Harris, M.A., 1926-34, returned in 1961 and finished his ministry as President of the Tonga Conference until his retirement in 1969. His faithful leadership was of outstanding quality.

Cecil F. Gribble, M.A., Dip.Ed., was Principal of Tupou College for three years and was then asked by the Government to become Director of Education; he placed teacher-training in all schools on a new basis before returning to Australia where he became General Secretary for Overseas Missions. [873] [871]

Alfred E. McKay, B.A., B.D., succeeded Mr. Page as President of Conference in 1947. In a total term of sixteen years he proved an efficient and careful administrator.

Kenneth Grove, B.A., served in Vava'u for eleven years, dying very shortly after leaving Tonga in 1958.

Ronald A. W. Woodgate, B.A., B.D., B.Ed., was fourteen years in Tonga at Tupou College and the Theological College. His outstanding successes in preparing students for the L.Th. examination at Sia'atoutai have been mentioned.

Howard W. Secomb, B.A., Dip.Ed., served for fourteen years, including twelve as Principal of Tupou College, Toloa, in a period of expansion; he was supported by his wife, born in a missionary family in Tonga; her knowledge of Tongan life and understanding of the people provided a liaison between the missionaries and the Tongans not often found in mission situations.

Eben E. V. Newman, B.A., B.D., B.Litt.; John Sutton, B.A.; H. Paul K. Trigge, B.Sc., B.D.; Justin J. Gooderham, B.A., and H. Geoffrey Cummins, B.A., were among the many ministers conspicuous in educational work in recent years; Mr. Cummins achieved many matriculation successes in Tonga at the newly-formed Tupou High School.

Mrs. M. E. Thompson for 22 years toiled faithfully at Queen Salote College and Siu'ilikutapu College, Vava'u.

Miss D. Rowlands, B.A., had the record of 25 years as Principal of Queen Salote College. She was responsible for developments which made her school not only the largest but the most influential girls' school in Tonga. [873]

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simply cannot find the same number of workers. "Price-hiking is becoming unavoidable as food items become scarce," Mr. Simiki said.[11] A A

In 1972 the Tongan Assistant Secretary in the Ministry of Finance pointed out that "every year only about 5 percent of the school-leavers find wage employment in the industrial and tertiary sectors" of the Tongan economy.[12] B A

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As a result of this untenable situation, the New Zealand overseas work scheme was begun in 1971. This system contributed significantly to Tonga's favorable balance of payments in 1972-1973. In 1971-1972, net remittances by Tongans working overseas totaled some $1,250,000; and for 1972-1973, this had increased to approximately $2,000,000. This money, along with donations, gifts, and contributions from overseas ($2,150,000), helped to offset the Tongan trade deficit.[13] C A (In 1972-1973 gross tourism earnings provided Tongans with some $1,530,000. Compared with the previous year, tourism revenues increased by some 24 percent.)

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Though the work scheme improves the balance of payments in Tonga, most of the money earned by Tongans in New Zealand is eventually returned to New Zealand to pay for increased imports. Also, the

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overseas work scheme appears to be contributing to family tensions and an increased divorce rate in Tonga.[14] D A

[648]

Crocombe has criticized the overseas work scheme as a form of "poorer independent islands subsidizing their rich big neighbors," even though the Tongan government requested the New Zealand government to initiate such a work program.[15] C A While there may be some short-term benefits to Tongans, long-range analysis of this work scheme may prove Crocombe correct.

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The Tongan government and private entrepreneurs must encourage the diversification of the Tongan economy beyond short-term overseas work schemes. Tongans, for their part, must realize that tourism is not the ultimate solution to economic stability. A 1969 United Nations consultant's report stated:

> There is no immediate prospect of absorbing in gainful employment more than a very small proportion of those who cannot find work on the land. The visitor industry (tourism) is unlikely to be a really significant employer of labor . . . .[16] F A

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Besides being small-scale, tourism is unreliable as a steady source of income for Tongans. In 1972, for example, at least forty tour groups cancelled their visits to Tonga because of the uncertainty of air travel to and from the Kingdom. Late in 1973 and early in 1974, five cruise ships cancelled their stops at Tonga

[p. 91-B]

A, B, C, D, E, F, [For footnotes, see pp. 93-A & 93-B--Analyst]
A A A A A A

91: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1977
OU9 Tonga OU9

464 The Secretary also noted that every year, only about 5 percent of the
871 Tongans who leave school are able to find employment in the Tongan economy.

464 To offset this serious lack of domestic employment, thousands of
167 Tongans since 1971 have gone overseas to work, primarily in New
457 Zealand. Their remittances to Tonga have been substantial: in 1971-72 us$1,250,000 and for 1972-73 us$2,000,000. This money, together with donations, gifts, and contributions from other overseas sources (us$2,150,000) have helped to offset the Tongan trade deficit. In addition, individual men, returning to Tonga after the expiration of overseas work permits, often bring back a substantial amount of cash (once estimated to be an average of us$1,800 per man). Although this work program was initiated at the request of the Tongan government, it has been criticized as being a form of economic subservience. The revenues obtained from this
[593] unique "export item" (diligent and hardworking Tongans) have, in fact,
[586] benefitted the Tongan economy, but they have also created some domestic problems: family life is disrupted for male wage earners who go overseas, and divorce appears to be increasing.

177 Tonga, as with the rest of Oceania, continues to undergo massive acculturation. The economic problems have aggravated social problems because of the inability of individual Tongans to achieve their Western-
674 induced desires. Housebreaking, theft, and unlawful entry are now
174 prevalent crimes in Tonga and are, unfortunately, apparently increasing at a steady rate. Tongan homes now commonly have barred windows, and families may keep numerous dogs in the yard for protection. Crimes of violence have also increased, especially in attacks by Tongans on non-Tongans. The Tongan Minister of Police openly admits that in view of population pressures and economic side effects, continued potential increase of crime may reasonably be predicted.

179 In the face of their economic dilemma, it is not surprising that in their
457 1970-75 development plan, Tonga has assessed tourism as having the greatest economic potential to the Kingdom, both as an employer of labour and also as a source of foreign exchange.

The Economic Role of Tourism

457 Tourists arrive in Tonga by private yacht, by cruise ships making a one or two-day stop as part of a longer Pacific itinerary, or by air from Samoa or Fiji. Guests to Tonga in 1958 were an elite group, when only three cruise vessels landed passengers at Tongatapu, and some special flights brought a total of sixty-four air passengers from Australia (Figure 2). Subsequently, tourism has grown steadily and rapidly, and more growth is anticipated, including tourism to areas other than Nuku'alofa. In 1973,

94: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1976
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

For the present purpose of presenting a demographic profile of the village, I am taking the population of Motulahi to be the sum of the people who were enumerated in the course of the house-to-house survey (except that anyone enumerated more than once is counted only at the last household). People not living in a household at the time it was surveyed are not included here; to include them would inflate the population total and distort the age-sex proportions, since young adults are more mobile residentially than other segments of the population.

According to this enumeration, Motulahi had 1192 inhabitants in the early part of 1970. Of these people, 617 were male and 575 were female (see Table 1). A percentage breakdown of village population according to ten-year age categories indicates that more than half the population was under the age of twenty and over 90 % were under the age of fifty. This is similar to the age distribution within the national population at the time of the census of 1966. However, there was a higher percentage of persons in the 10—19 year-old group in Motulahi than in the nation at large, and this might be accounted for by the fact that it is fairly

Table 1. Population of Motulahi 1970, Enumerated by Sex and Age and Compared with the National Population (1966)

Age Group	Motulahi					National	
	Number			% (N = 1192)	Proportion of Males per 1000 Persons	% (N = 77,429)	Proportion of Males per 1000 Persons
	Males	Females	Total				
0—9	202	168	370	31.0	546	33.4	520
10—19	183	147	330	27.7	555	22.9	517
20—29	81	93	174	14.6	466	15.1	503
30—39	53	66	119	10.0	445	11.2	505
40—49	54	51	105	8.8	514	7.8	524
50—59	23	23	46	3.9	500	4.6	525
60—69	12	15	27	2.3	444	3.0	497
70+	9	12	21	1.8	429	1.8	466
Unknown	—	—	—	—	NA	0.2	NA
Total	617	575	1192	100.1	518	100.0	514

Sources: fieldwork survey; Fiefia 1968: 50—52.

94: Decktor Korn - E-5 (1969-1970) 1 176
OU9 Tong.i OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

common for youngsters from the outer islands to be sent to live with a family on Tongatapu so that they can attend the better schools on the main island.

There is less similarity to national demographic characteristics when we examine the proportion of males in the population; that is, there are considerable differences between the figures for Motulahi and those for the population as a whole (see Table 1). The excess of males over females in the 10—19 year-old group might be accounted for by the fact that, while there is no overt sex discrimination in education opportunity, a boy's parents are more likely to make the effort involved in moving to live on the main island or sending their child to live there. The excess of females in the 20—29 and 30—39 year-old groups might be accounted for by the fact that men in those age-categories may be living away from the main island to earn a living on the land or in some job while the wife and children live where the children can take advantage of educational opportunities. However, I do not have a great deal of confidence in these explanations. The age-sex structure of the national population calls for further demographic investigation, and differences between the age-sex proportions for Motulahi and the nation as a whole could be accounted for by random variation.

Anomalies, Discrepancies, and Ethnographic Validity

Again, had I been interested in these matters at the time the data were collected, I would undoubtedly be in a better position now. For one thing, I would surely have been more careful in collecting data on people's age and checking the accuracy of these data. Then, I was usually content to record what I was told about a person's age at the nearest birthday; I seldom bothered to ask for the exact birth date, and there were few cases where the answer to my question about a person's age seemed so anomalous that I felt it necessary to probe beyond the first response. However, I now feel that the accuracy of my data on age must be regarded with some reservation, and of course this affects the value of other demographic data, particularly material relating to fertility. The assumption that the data on exact age are not accurate is the most likely explanation for the anomalous finding that only two young women in the village said to be under the age of twenty had already

97: Stewart G-3 (1960) 1961
OU9 Tonga OU9

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THE Tongans are a branch of the Polynesian race. Their origins are lost in antiquity but they have been living in their scattered Pacific Islands for a very long time, as their oral tradition indicates.

Their isolation and environment have evolved a way of life suitable to local need and comparatively unshaken by western impact. They are a self-reliant, resourceful, agricultural people, exceptionally gifted in song and melody, showing respect to their chiefs and devotion to their Island home. Tonga is a self-governing kingdom with a constitutional monarchy, as well as a British Protected State by virtue of a Treaty of Friendship signed in 1900 and recently revised.

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Since 1918, when she succeeded her father on the throne, Her Majesty Queen Salote Tupou, G.C.V.O., G.B.E., has reigned over this group of 150 Pacific islands which Captain Cook, when he visited them in the latter part of the 18th century, aptly named "The Friendly Islands."

Queen Salote has exercised a great influence on the destinies of her people. Education, already universal in the time of King George I of Tonga, who died in 1893, has advanced, while medical and health services have been extended and communications improved. Infant welfare is one of the many social services that owes its progress to the Queen's personal inspiration.

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[P. 26- B]

/71 cont./

601 177 [191] [891] The ancient Tongan kinship terms have remained alive. Though English is taught in the village schools, of all inhabited islands European kinship concepts have not been adopted, and even rather competent English-speaking natives have considerably difficulty explaining their relationship to a particular person to whites who are unfamiliar with the language of their country. Without going 601 554 into the complexity of Tongan kinship terms more deeply, (205)

205. These terms have been described in detail by Gifford (compare E. W. Gifford, Tongan Society /cited in English/. pp. 27 ff. and elsewhere.

let us give here a brief survey of the more immediate family:

Person of the highest rank

mehekitanga	tama'i	tama'i	fa'e	fa'e	fa'e
("aunt" oldest sister of father)	("uncle" brother of father)	("father")	("mother")	("aunt" sister of mother)	tangata (tu'a-sina) ("uncle" brother of mother)

f a n a u

(children, progeny)

Designations from the point of view of the children!

604 554 The mehekitanga, the father's (eldest" sister is the most important of all the persons mentioned here. The children of the family have the greatest respect for her, and this is still to be seen in certain rules of avoidance; for example, the children are not permitted to eat any food of the mehekitana. (206)

206. Also, no part of the same orange, for instance.

/223 cont./

285 nobles to the realm of the common people, most of the traditional
287 plaitwork, knotwork and tapa-making is scarcely less numerous than
178 it was in the past.
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[565] During the last few decades there seems to have been danger,
especially in and around the harbor towns, that these ancient crafts
285 might be lost. For this reason a course in "Tongan handicrafts"
287 /cited in English/ was introduced in all Tongan schools of the
178 Archipelago, in order to teach children the important ancient Tongan
871 crafts. Many a girl from Nuku'alofa, for example, whose mother was
already inexperienced in the old handicrafts, has in this way been
made familiar with them, and even in the harbor towns one now con-
stantly hears the sound of the tapa mallets, though even here it was
never completely silenced. For here, and especially on the small
[868] islands, the ancient Tongan crafts have been handed down to this day
from mothers and grandmothers to their children and grandchildren.
285 The "liberation" of commoners also brought about no essential decrease
287 in industriousness after they were no longer obliged to work for the
178 nobles; the authority of the latter passed over to the government,
565 though in milder form, and the Tongan district and town officers
656 /cited in English/ serving in the individual villages--who are subject
to a higher authority--see to it that the Tongan women living within
their jurisdiction produce certain quantities of tapa and mats--for
their own use--during prescribed periods. The majority of women and
[556] girls willingly carry out these orders, though there is no law that
forces them to do so, for mats and tapa are still a standard of
prosperity; no one wants to be regarded as "poor," and women will
therefore work for their good reputation.

285 The question as to why the ancient Tongan treasures are still
287 held in such high regard can scarcely be answered simply by pointing
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/224 cont./

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MEN	WOMEN
House- and boat-building	Helping clean up after plantation land has been made arable Halping with copra work, earth-oven preparation, etc. Gathering seafood Making hair- and body oil

887 Old people usually work along with the family to the extent that their strength permits. Those who cannot or need not work independently usually stay on at home and busy themselves with lighter tasks. Men,
462 for example, help in copra-making (drying), plait the crude coconut-leaf baskets or the "pola" (see p. 311) and make the coconut-fiber cords
868 (kafa); the women make mats, for example. Children grow into their
859 later tasks and duties as a result of the help which their parents demand of them at an early age (generally beginning at five or six years years). On the whole, they probably help their parents more than they play. Thus the boys lend a helping hand on the plantations, bring home some field products, help in drying the copra, often learn a few fishing methods at an early age and, /225/ along with the girls, carry water and bring in firewood; the girls help with many kitchen tasks (for example, shucking coconuts and scraping the kernel meat), they help with the laundry, they learn, at the age of 10 or 12, the various types of plaitwork, and even at this age assist in tapa-
857 making. In addition, mandatory school attendance in all the settle-
891 ments of the Archipelago takes up a great deal of time of the children of all ages.

462 This division of labor generally holds true, but it is not absolutely rigid. Thus, cooking is often done by the men instead of the women. Some men induce their wives to do rather hard work on the plantations, and it is the fate of a few single women that they are obliged to do plantaion owrk. A (young) man rarely works at mat-

/271 cont./

526 857 surf--as did the men in ancient Tonga; several of them (up to about 20) let rather big waves carry them to the beach on box lids or other pieces of wood (approximately 70-100 centimeters long) which they use as "surf-

524 857 boards." It is possible that the "pop-cork" game which the boys nowadays seldom play is of ancient Tongan origin.

[178] It consists of a small bamboo tube, two balls of twisted tapa and a wooden rod; they stick one ball in the lower end of the tube, shove it up to the mouth with the rod, then insert the second ball and push it up with the little stick while holding the tube vertically. With a loud bang the first ball shoots high into the air.

524 857 Girls at the age of six to twenty still like to play the ancient Tongan game of "hiko."

883 [178] They throw two to six balls (=vaine fruits [Passiflora species]) (the number of balls depending on their ski'l) into the air, one after the other, catch them successively and keep on throwing the caught balls up again, so that all buy one are in the air. Sometimes they sing [533] children's songs to this. If there are two players the second girl has a turn if the first makes a mistake or if she has been successful throughout the singing of the entire verse. Nowadays the hiko game is also [871] taught in school, the teacher appointing a girl /to teach it/ from the village who is particularly skilled in it.

524 857 "Moa" is apparently not a very old game of skill played by girls approximately seven to twelve years of age.

"Moa" is played with five Aleurites nuts. Two to three girls sit together. One of them starts to play by laying the five nuts on the ground, picking one up, throwing it in the air (about 1.50 meters) and, while /272/ it is still in the air, picking up a second nut with the same hand and then catching the first one. This tossing-picking up-catching is repeated until finally all five nuts are in the girl's hand.

/272 cont./

524 the Archipelago European games replaced the ancient Tonga ones, some of
526 which were by that time already forgotten or seemed uninteresting.
[177] Probably people play less today in Tonga than they did in the past, for
[517] the church takes up much of the Tongans' time, and the energy required by their work (on plantations and at copra production) is now greater than it was in past centuries. Nonetheless, the idea of play, though in new forms, has been preserved on the Islands.

/273/ 6. THEIR KNOWLEDGE

861 In ancient Tonga the natives learned everything they needed to know
178 for living through oral tradition, unsystematic guidance and their own
[871] experience. To judge from ancient sources, there were no "schools" of any kind (not even for priests and seafarers). The young natives of both sexes and all ranks grew into their life tasks and in this way acquired all the knowledge they needed to regulate their affairs.

Today too most Tongan men and women do not obtain the knowledge they need for their everyday life systematically; they simply imitate their elders; they learn chiefly by "seeing and taking part." Tonga--as in the past--is an island country with a predominantly farming population. Only a few trades are more widespread and, in contrast to the past, only a small group of natives out of the total number of inhabitants are engaged in newly created professions. (744)

744. See pp. 358-361.

From the standpoint of present economic life, an increase and change in their knowledge as seen from the European point of view is scarcely necessary, since in the villages children as a matter of course grow into the activities of their parents (who are "masters of their world"), and on the small islands there are few opportunities of applying the school-acquired knowledge of the whites.

871 Nevertheless, schools were established in the Archipelago as early
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871 177 [799] an 1826 by the Wesleyan missionaries because these messengers of the faith regarded the transmission of European knowledge an indispensable prerequisite for the successful work of conversion. European teaching increased more and more in the course of decades, and soon had considerable success among these islanders who were intelligent and for the most part eager to learn. Almost all Tongan adults living in the Archipelago, of all ages and ranks, have attended one of the schools now run by the government and by the various religious groups. The natives have thus largely adopted the average school knowledge of the whites.

212 Today, among this once illiterate people, there are only a few who cannot read and write. Of the adult Tongans of both sexes up to about 40 or 50 years of age approximately 97 to 99 percent can read and write, while at least 70 to 75 percent of the older generation have some experience in it.

803 179 /274/ The vast majority of Tongans, who knew the decimal system even in the pre-European era, (745)

745. See E.A.W. von Zimmermann, Australien... /Australia/ vol. I. section 2. p. 654.

are now likewise skilled in European-style math (approximately 85 to 100 percent, depending on their stage of life).

871 814 The "history of Tonga" (as taught in schools today) is known to almost all the younger generation, whereas the older generation was usually not taught this newer subject. About half the natives over 50 years, and about 80 - 90 percent of the younger Tongan men and women have become acquainted with the "history of the world," (especially the history of Great Britain.)

Most of the younger natives are well aquainted with the geography of the Tonga Archipelago--especially through their school (map-drawing) --whereas the information of the older generation (on account of the newness of this teaching subject) is limited to personal experiences

/274 cont./

871 and stories they have heard, and a truly full knowledge of this island
814 world may be assumed among only about half of these men and women. The essentials of world geography are known to approximately 25 - 80 percent, depending on their age group; for instance, there are some who are even able to draw an outline map of Europe from memory.

191 About one-fifth of the older generation and about one-third of the younger generation know English well to reasonably well (that is, they have tne ability to understand English and to make themselves understood. (746)

[197] [192] [178]

746. The Tongan language has remained the common national language and, aside from the adoption of a number of words (for the newer concepts) borrowed from English, it apparently has not substantially changed, although for more than a century many Tongans have become acquainted with the English language (see, for example, J.E. Erskine, Journal of a cruise... /cited in English/ London 1853. p. 162).

178 This knowledge, however, has little practical effect on the every-
197 day life of the broad masses of natives. The essential activity needed
[191] fo. their subsistence is still based on the old, traditional knowledge.
[805] The Tongans of the younger generation, however, follow today for the most part the European calendar, in planting and harvesting, whereas half of the middle-aged and probably all of the old generation prefer the old Tongan "calendar"; (747)

[821]

747. The December new moon is the first moon of the year; See E.E.V. Collocott, "Tongan astronomy and calendar" /cited in English/ B.P.B.M. Occ. Papers, col. VIII, no. 4. 1922.

weddings and other festivities, however, are quite generally scheduled
803 according to the European calendar. Arithmetic has gained a certain significance in the everyday life of the natives, especially in selling
000 their copra and in their shopping in stores. Many older Tongan men and

100: Koch--417 E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1955 009 Tonga 009

/275 cont./

772 771 177 212 538 and to which school-knowledge of these natives is still to a large extent subordinated--in accordance with the wishes of the early missionaries; even the art of reading, for the majority of present-day Tongans is--as it was more than a century ago--almost exclusively meant for bible study and the reading of other church literature, since there is still no secular literature in the Tongan language.

871 The Tongan school system has constantly expended and increased. Today there is compulsory education for all children between the ages 872 of six and fourteen, with free school attendance. In 1950 (752)

(113) 752. See Report of the Department of Education for the Year 1950 /cited in English/. Nuku'alofa 1951. p.1.

there were 134 elementary schools on the Islands; 70 of them were run by the government, 35 by the Free Wesleyan Church, 21 by the Roman Catholic Church, four by the Adventists, two by the Free Church (Wesleyan), one by the Anglican Church and one by the Mormons. In them 335 teachers taught 10,626 boys and girls. (753)

753. Ibid. p. 1.

/276/ These schools, like the English elementary schools, teach basic knowledge; some subjects are adapted to specific Tongan needs. Teaching includes: arithmetic (addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, fractions), English (reading, spelling, translation, dictation, grammar, composition, letter-writing), Tongan language (reading, dictation, composition), hygiene (and first aid), geography (the Tonga-Archipelago and the Pacific), history (especially of Tonga), nature study (plants and animals), music (singing, scales), penmanship, drawing, gymnastics, agriculture (once a week plantation work), (sewing) and Tongan handcraft (plaiting, making tapa printing plates, (194) woodwork such as boat models and paddles, etc.). The schools organized by the churches also give religious instruction. Teaching is done in

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874 756. See Report of the Department of Education...p. 4.

28 Tongans were trained here.

874 In 1944 there was also an educational center founded in the Archi-
875 pelago for male and female Tongan teachers: the Teachers' Training College /cited in English/.

Here those natives are trained who are to teach in the elementary schools of the government and the churches. Before that, they attended an elementary school and a college and took a final examination. Their training at the Teachers' Training College lasts two years and is conducted by whites and a few Tongans; in addition they must do practice teaching for a year as assistant teachers in selected schools. In 1951 (757)

757. See Colonial Office, Report on Tonga for the Years 1950 and 1951 /cited in English/ p. 14.

45 natives were studying at this institution.

873 For more than 20 years the Tongans have also gone abroad to study;
177 their education is financed chiefly by scholarships.

Thus in the year 1951 (758)

758. See Colonial Office, Report on Tongan for the Years 1950 and 1951. p. 14.

two Tongans studied at Gatton Agricultural College in Queensland/Australia, one at the Auckland University College (New Zealand) and one at Otago University (New Zealand), while three were trained at the Central Medical School in Suva (Fiji). Some Tongan children also (thanks to the intitiative of their parents or relatives) visit "secondary schools" /cited in English/ in New Zealand and Australia.

871 /278/ The Tongan educational system is under the supervision of the
645 Department of Education of the Tongan government. Crown Prince and Premier Tungi, who himself studied in Sydney, is the Minister of Education, and under him is a white "Director of Education" /cited in English/.

/278 cont./
000 English/.

871 The children and with them the parents are relatively open-minded
177 about this European educational system. Today--in contrast to conditions a few decades ago--school attendance is apparently quite regular.

872 In 1952, for example, about 150 boys and girls went to the government elementary school of the village of 'Uiha ('Uiha"), a typical settlement of the small islands, and all but four of them attended classes rather regularly. The teacher had the parents of children who played truant force them to attend school. The four pupils mentioned, however, were generally regarded as "hopeless cases" since, immediately after they were brought to school by their parents, they ran away again and could not bring themselves to spend the morning sitting in school. About half the children really like to attend because of their interest in the teaching and their pleasure in the group games; the rest of the boys and girls attended school because it was compulsory.

873 The number of those who have attended college is relatively large considering the slight opportunity they have to apply this education of several years' duration. Investigations conducted by the author
[162] in 1952 in the village of 'Uiha/'Uiha showed that of the 358 adults living there, 57 (chiefly men) had attended college, while in Fungamisi/Vava'u there were 23 (chiefly men) who attended among the 135 adults of the settlement.

153 The Tongan boys and girls seem generally intelligent and receptive
157 in the classroom. A leading white educator who was questioned empha-
871 sized that there was "apparently nothing wrong with their intelligence," /cited in English/ but that their temperament and their entire ambience was different, as though their motto were: "Don't worry, go to sleep!" Despite a great deal of honest effort Tongan boys and girls are

/278 cont./

153 157 871 generally somewhat slower than European children; yet, other things being equal, they usually outdo the natives of other Pacific islands in their achievements, and in the Tongan colleges, especially in practical subjects, they certainly achieve the standard of whites in the equivalent schools of New Zealand, even though they have the disadvantage of an environment that does not give them much cultural stimulation.

876 177 871 Although in schools run by churches the purpose of the early missionaries is still alive, namely, by imparting European knowledge, /279/ to provide the prerequisites for successful Christianization, nevertheless today the trend in the modern, improved educational system of the government and the churches is to give the Tongans more education and with it greater understanding, so that the natives will "do everything better" and achieve a higher standard of living. This is [645] also expressed in the plans of the Prime Minister and Minister of Education Tungi who, in the near future, would like to make accessible to his people European specialized knowledge (in agriculture, fishing and handicraft) by appointing white and yellow teachers of special subjects and by means of literature and radio.

871 876 The practical effects of the present educational system on the life of the Tongan masses seem, however, to be slight. Although their educational institutions are not too academic and try to accomodate themselves to Tongan limitations, the most suitable solution of the educational problem has apparently still not been found. White critics point out that there is still too much emphasis on teaching subjects that are, after all, useless to the natives. The schools would have to pay far more attention to agriculture if this farming population is actually to change and raise its standard of living. [177] The educational system as it now exists simply means, for the majority of Tongans, and "additional acquisition of European knowledge" and is

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87 87 (177) truly beneficial only for the small group of natives who find employment in the government, in the church or in trade.

177 (538) (209) (204) (546) The transmission of European knowledge outside the schools is very slight. There is no Tongan secular literature. The natives have few radios. Newspapers and magazines only occasionally come into the hands of the Tongans. In Nuku'alofa/Tongatapu and Neiafu/Vava'u they can see films in small cinemas. The few natives working among whites (missionaries, teachers, physicians, administrative employees, traders), as attentive observers, become acquainted with all kinds of European ideas. (521) But the majority of Tongan men and women, after having attended school, are dependent for an increase in their knowledge on face-to-face conversations, especially at the evening kava circles in the villages; and in this case actual knowledge is mixed with exaggerated tales and wild rumors.

871 828 177 181 185 Seen as a whole, the natives of this Archipelago doubtless know more than is needed for life on their small islands. /280/ This is not to be traced back solely to the school system as such, but actually to the lively eagerness to learn on the part of many Tongans. Their pleasure in learning is above all the result of the natives' so typical interest in everything new and worth knowing. Added to that is the desire to share in the superior world of the whites. Moreover, since "education" has become a measure of value within the community, the desire for recognition of the individual strengthens the general eagerness to learn. Ultimately this is also very much furthered by democratization, since commoners are now able to achieve special positions through proper training. 871 181 185 Almost the entire population of the Archipelago has a positive attitude toward the modern school system. Most elementary pupils probably have the ambition to go on to one of the very respected colleges. (759)

759. After their final examination the young natives

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185 often do not want to return home, but try to stay in college. and their parents, who see in such an education an honor for their children, support them as much as they can by providing them with the means for this school attendance. Many of the older people regard the present time as "the goiden age of education" and strive to help the young people towards an education which they themselves were unable to obtain; in some villages there have even been small groups who in a planned way (for example, by raising funds through their copra sales or the breeding and sale of pigs) collect money with which young people from the settlements are to be sent to colleges on the main island or to schools abroad. This open-mindedness of a largely farming popula-
[212] tion is amazing, and it gives one a strange feeling to find, for example, on one of the smallest islands of the Archipelago, an old man in a lonely hut on plantation land who is able to write his name and read printed matter in the Tongan language perfectly.

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464 The schooling of these natives, which is certainly too generous in view of their ordinary conditions, does not, from all appearances, have a harmful influence on their character. The young people who have gone to college and then, after a successful final examination, return to their small home island because they are unable to find an opening in any of the higher positions (especially in administration, health, education and the church), usually take up the work of their fathers as a matter of course; they become farmers, and they are generally neither arrogant because they know more than most of their fellow-villagers, nor are they discontent because they /281/ cannot apply their diverse knowledge; rather, they differ from the natives of the same age who have attended only the elementary school by a more modest and courteous conduct. These returnees, however, do not have a noticeable influence on the community.

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871 177 The adoption of European book-learning as well as the excessive amount of theoretical knowledge have not heretofore had a negative effect because Tonga is independent in its domestic policy; there is no discrimination against, much less suppression of, native intelligence by whites. The Tongans realize that the possibilities for applying their knowledge, their education, are limited by natural conditions (the smallness of their kingdom), and that they are not deliberately held back by a European administration. On the contrary, the British [657] [463] protectorate authority seeks to raise their level through the training of Tongan physicians, teachers and administrative officials. And therein lies the visible benefit of their adoption of European knowledge: The Tongans have to a certain extent learned to administer their state in the European manner, so that they may exist in the midst of a Europeanized world.

7. The Attitude of the Tongans to the Change in their Culture

829 The majority of Tongans, both in the chief towns as well as the villages of the large and small islands of the Archipelago accept the changes in their way of life and their culture not only as something to be taken for granted and unalterable, but something they even welcome [563] and try to promote. None of the natives resists this development, and there is no hostility against Europeans.

829 177 186 Most of them see in the life style of the whites an ideal worth striving for; they would like to know as much, be able to do as much, be as neat and prosperous as they are. Yet, despite this wish, the Tongans are not giving up their own nature, their old point of view which was so typical even at the time they were discovered. With considerable self-assurance they face Europeans and have a pride which in the community increases to a national consciousness. In general they adopt from the

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schools of five missions) is less effective than the Tongan, and mass education has not as yet been particularly successful, especially since in West Samoa (with a majority of the population) there is no compulsory education and in all the villages of the Islands the existing schools are attended rather irregularly. Even though the so proud and conservative Samoans do not have the same ambition to become educated that the Tongans seem to have, it is nevertheless noteworthy that today almost all Samoans can read and write. In comparison with Tonga, however, only very few get beyond the elementary school level.

/299/ In Samoa, as in Tonga, there is a difference in the change that has taken place in the culture between the more remote villages and the settlements favorably situated with regard to transport facilities and the commercial centers. In these "urbanized" towns one often notices in an occasional outsider who come there a detachment from his "extended family" in addition to a slight alienation and a growing importance attached to money, and the way of life of some natives shows considerable change in clothing, food and dwelling. In the city of Apia some people, especially young natives, are at times disdainful of the ancient Samoan way of life and the customs of their fathers, and feel superior to their countrymen who come "from the most backward villages" for a visit.

However, at present, such manifestations can be observed only among a minority of Samoans and should be regarded as exceptions. Up to now the Samoan culture has shown itself to be at least as strong as the Tongan. It has remained sound and dominant, despite the variety of European influences. (23)

23. Even the large sums of money which came into the country as a result of the presence of American troops on the Islands and the possibility of easy acquisition during that

T F 795 171 /310 cont./ Likewise in the ecclesiastical sphere conditions in both island groups are similar insofar as /311/ there are likewise various denominations in the Fiji Archipelago; (36)

36. Wesleyan Church, Roman Catholic Church, Adventists, Anglican Church, Presbyterians.

yet these natives have not come around to founding churches independently.

T F 533 538 535 177 In the field of art it can be noted that both song and instrumental music as well as poetry and the dance have undergone changes (adoption of European heritage, fusion of old and new, loss of ancient cultural heritage) similar to those undergone by the corresponding arts of the Tongans. Games too seem changed, as in Tonga.

T F 524 In /the realm of general/ knowledge and hence in the Fijian conception of the world, European influences (especially schools and churches) likewise have their effects. Almost every native child today has an elementary school education--as in the Tonga Archipelago--and in general the children here too learn quite willingly. The system of transmitting European knowledge through schools is, however, limited since the effectiveness of some elementary schools still leaves much to be desired, and relatively few pupils have the opportunity for higher education. The Tongan educational system seems somewhat more progressive in this respect, and actually offers too much schooling for conditions there. While in that Archipelago the young people who have successfully attended college and can find no entrance to the higher professions devote themselves as a matter of course to the farm work of their fathers, it is reported in this colony that those whose school education is completed largely scorn village life and, we are told, there is a "constant increase of a discontented class of half-educated youth" /cited in English/. (37)

T 871 T F 871 182 T [873] [463] F [571]

100: Koch--469 E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1955 OU9 Tonga OU9
Fijians OQ4

/311 cont./

37. Legislative Council, Fiji. Secretary for Fijian Affairs. Annual Report, 1948. Council Paper No. 27. p. 8.

The difference to be observed in Tonga in the culture change between the more remote villages, on the one hand, and the towns favorably located with respect to transport facilities, on the other, is, of course, to be noted to an increasing extent in the Fiji Colony. The rapid development of overseas contacts and the founding of industries influence the lives of those who dwell in or near important centers. In the urbanlike settlements, especially in the lowlands of Viti Levu, the culture of the Fijians is subject to the greatest influence, and the difficulty of "uniting the two worlds" (which here are actually four because of the Indians and Chinese living here, besides the Europeans) is greatest for the natives in these places. Here one also notes a beginning individualism among the natives; yet in general the Fijians who have developed an especially successful initiative show toward their own people /312/ neither greediness nor stinginess, characteristics which scarcely existed in their old native community. In the villages near these centers a certain unrest has arisen through the exodus of young people who could not resist the power of attraction of the urbanlike settlements.

Seen as a whole, there has been no breakdown in the old style of living on the Fiji Islands. After the restless times of the 19th century resulting from the intervention of Europeans, and after the alarming drop in population a notable, continuous positive development began which is not very different from that which took place in Tonga. In comparing the culture change in Tonga with the change in Fijian culture it is noteworthy that, despite the stronger and more powerful influence brought to bear on the latter by foreigners, so much essential age-old tradition in the social life and the means of

100: Koch--483 E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1955 OU9 Tonga OU9
Ganda FK7

GT 436 199 /321 cont./ after having promptly spent it following their cotton harvest.

GT 771 199 Christianity is today the religion of almost all the Baganda. It has become for them the obvious way of coming to terms with the supernatural. The Christian religion means a great deal to these natives, they have a similar, precise knowledge of the bible as the Tongans and--as in that Archipelago--in places where they have no European supervision they carry on their ritual of worship independently under the leadership of native Anglican and Catholic clergymen. As among the Islanders, here too the promise of paradise, as well as the association of this religion with the glamor of the European, and finally the wish for social recognition and representation may be the chief reasons why the Christian faith was adopted. In Buganda, as in the Tonga Archipelago, the old religion is no longer publicly practiced though, according to reports at hand, the conversion of the people of this country does not seem to be as complete. Along with inconsequential remnants of "paganism," which among the Christian natives are scarcely more important than the surviving remnants of the old religion in Tonga, /322/ the belief in the spirits of their ancestors which has been so important in the African kingdom has been largely preserved, and even the significance of magic powers and of sorcery could be only weakened by the church and government laws, but by no means extinguished; this seems noteworthy in view of the fact that in Tonga the power of the once so all-embracing taboo has long since been broken and forgotten.

GT 771 199 GT 778 199

GT 868 871 199 With regard to the transmission of knowledge, conditions in Buganda have changed in similar fashion as in the Tonga Archipelago: Their way of growing into the various tasks of life through simple imitation of older people and without particular systematic instruction has here too been supplemented by a European type of school

G T 87 179 [868 & 562] /322 cont./

system. In Buganda, however, this has influenced the women far less than the men, for, in keeping with the social and economic structure of this people, the mothers generally do not like to release their daughters from their work within the family for the sake of school attendance. Aside from that, these Africans have shown themselves to be just as receptive to European education as the Tongans, and every Muganda would probably like to acquire the knowledge of the whites. The reason for this is not only the wish to become like the European, but actually a remarkable interest in everything new which is based on a mental alertness together with an ablility to absorb a foreign stock of ideas, and which was already observed among these natives by the first European visitors--and this is of course likewise characteristic of the Tongans. The majority of Baganda can today G [212] read and write, and though the general level of education is still below the relatively high level of the Tongans, this is to be attributed more to the difficulties of school organization resulting from the size of this much larger population rather than the lack of abilities and aptitudes; at any rate, these natives head all the peoples of the Uganda Protectorate in their education.

G T 199 Probably the most important observation on the basis of a comparison of the culture change in Tonga with that in Buganda is the following: Although the racial, geographic and partly also the cultural preconditions in the African kingdom are different from those in the South Seas Archipelago, there is a certain similarity to be noted in both areas in the reaction and development brought about by European influences.

The Baganda too were by no means immune to the European impact. They proved open and receptive--like the Tongans--and, like the latter, showed a particular ability to take on new things, integrate

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

During interviews with individuals who had migrated to Tongatapu, the most frequently offered explanation for this migration was the desire for the best education for the children, and a subsequent qualification for careers in government service. Until recently, Tonga's secondary schools were all located on Tongatapu. Even though secondary schools have now been built on the other islands, most informants believed that the Tongatapu schools are superior. All such individuals expressed a willingness to temporarily lower their standard of living, undergo long periods of family separation or relocate the entire family, in order to achieve a long range goal of better education.

A smaller number of informants migrated to Tongatapu, due to a desire for cash employment in or near the capital. However, in many cases both motives, education and employment, were influential.

The centripetal force of urbanization, as described by Fiefia in the 1966 census report, is noted particularly with regard to younger age groups. "The drift of young people from the atolls of Ha'apai, especially, and rural areas of Tongatapu to Nuku'alofa is probably indicative of this trend" (Fiefia 1968, p. 11).

Most of the internal migration is from rural to urban areas, and Nuku'alofa is by no means the only urban area affected. The 1956 census listed six settlements, including the capital, with populations in excess of 1,000. With the 1966 report this statistic had risen to 13. (Table 6 lists these settlements with the respective intercensal increases.) These 13 evidenced a combined

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 978 OU9 Tonga OU9

areas and in amusement facilities. This situation is often blamed for the rapid rise in crime in Nuku'alofa. Burglary is the most frequent offense, although the incidence of fighting, prostitution, and petty theft have recently evidenced significant increases. Subsequently, this continuous migration of young Tongans has become a concern at all levels of government in the Kingdom (Report of the Department of Justice 1973).

The most influential urban factor attracting rural individuals to Nuku'alofa is the opportunity of improved education. Nearly all of the secondary schools are on Tongatapu and most of these are in Nuku'alofa. The fact that substantial education is usually unnecessary for village life, and that there are few opportunities for gaining urban employment, is of little consequence in deterring this desire. As mentioned previously, families often entirely abandon their village residence in order to move into the city and acquire a better education for the children. Frequently, this migration is intended to be temporary. However, as the older children finish their education, the younger children begin. In addition, the older children often marry and, as a result, permanent residency is established. Tongans perceive education to be symbolic of prestige, even though the knowledge gained will be put to little use. Educational attainment is considered to be the simplest and most direct means to upward social movement.

The rural factors contributing to expanded urbanization are almost entirely related to the system of land tenure and agriculture. Pressure of population upon land resources has been shown to exist [i.e., the high incidence of unemployment among youths in urban areas--Analyst.]